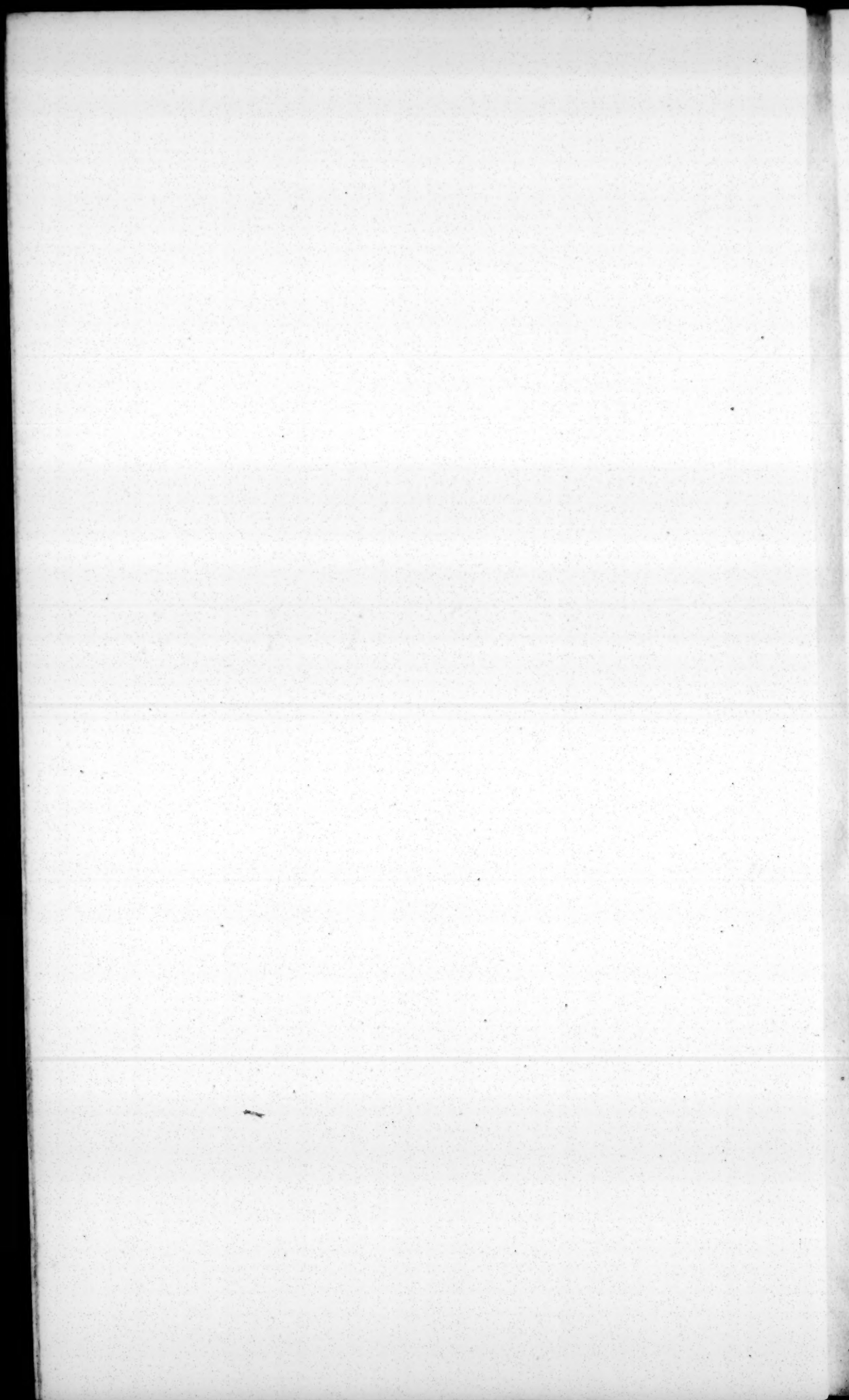


A
POLITICAL SURVEY
OF
B R I T A I N.

V O L. II.



A
POLITICAL SURVEY
OF
B R I T A I N:

BEING
A SERIES OF REFLECTIONS
ON THE
SITUATION, LANDS, INHABITANTS, REVENUES,
COLONIES, AND COMMERCE OF THIS ISLAND.

INTENDED TO SHEW

That we have not as yet approached near the Summit
of Improvement, but that it will afford Employment
to many Generations before they push to their utmost
Extent the natural Advantages of GREAT BRITAIN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

By JOHN CAMPBELL, L.L.D.

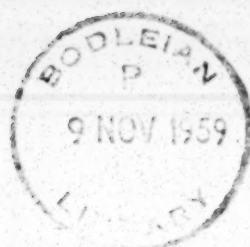
V O L. II.

THE SECOND EDITION.

D U B L I N:

T. EWING, CAPEL-STREET; AND C. JENKIN, DAME-STREET.

MDCCLXXV.



T H E

POLITICAL SURVEY

O F

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

CHAPTER VII. continued.

THE county of Suffex next demands our notice. It is thought to have been but thinly peopled in ancient times, a great Part of it being taken up by that prodigious forest, called, in the British language, Coid Andred, and, in the Saxon tongue, Andredes-wald (*a*). The inhabitants on the sea-coast seem to have submitted early to the Romans, who styled them the Regni, which, a very learned and judicious Antiquarian thinks, ought rather to be wrote Renci (*b*). The present appellation is plainly derived from its situation, and its conquerours the Saxons. Under all its different masters this country altered its appearance less than any, continuing to be but in a manner half inhabited till the Norman conquest, when, in the petition of Manors, a certain quantity of this Weald, or wild country, was added to each, not for the habitation of men, but for the feeding of swine and other Purposes (*c*). This seems to have been copied from the Saxon division, that was, into six rapes, which were so many stripes of land, from north to south, parallel to each other, from the edge of Hampshire to the borders of Kent, in each of which there was a forest, a castle, a great town, and a river (*d*). These remarks sufficiently demonstrate that

(*a*) Chronicon Saxonicum, p. 14, 21. 15, 2. 57, 1. Hen. Hunting. Hist. lib. v. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 15.—(*b*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 219. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 202. he derives it from the British word Rheng, which answers to our rank, and, as he thinks, alludes to their being settled in a line along the sea shore. Salmon, in his New Survey of England, p. 52, approves this etymology.—(*c*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 211. The Enrichment of the Weald of Kent, by G. Markham, London 1683, 4°. Additions to Camden's Britannia.—(*d*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 219. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 9. Fuller's Worthies in Suffex, p. 97.

our ancestors acted with great prudence in the distribution of shires, and the districts into which they were subdivided. They likewise show, that as the fitness of things was their rule, so the conveniency of it being apparent, it came from thence to be followed in all succeeding changes (*e*). It also proves, that the soil has a peculiar tendency to produce wood, which has flourished here even from the remotest times, and for which it is still better adapted than for any other production. It seems reasonable therefore to argue from hence, that where land is naturally apt to cast wood, the attempt is vain and unprofitable to force it either into arable or pasture; more especially considering the many uses we have for timber, the growing scarcity of it, and the vast sums that are annually carried into foreign countries in order to purchase it, the price rising, and we in some measure obliged to come up to the price, be that what it will (*f*).

THE sea-coasts of Suffex are flat, the climate somewhat heavy, and the soil fertile. The country, elevating itself from the sea, rises into what are called the downs, which are rich chalk-hills, upon which the air is admirably pure and wholesome, and these are continually covered with fine-sweet grafs. The prospect from thence is wondrously pleasant, over wide spread meadows, arable ground, and lovely groves, every-where intermingled with living streams. Farther to the north lie those numerous woods, the surviving remains of that vast forest with which a much greater part of Suffex was once overspread (*g*). The commodities which are here to be found in the bowels of the earth, are, Talc, Chalk, excellent Free-stone, Iron Ore of different sorts, and in great exuberance (*h*). They have also, upon the surface, plentiful harvests of every kind of grain; but more especially prodigious crops of Oats; insomuch, that a century ago, there were annually sold near thirty thousand quarters of Wheat, Barley, Malt, and Oats, at Chichester market (*i*). Add to these Hops, which grow to great perfection; and we might also add Hemp, for which no soil is fitter.

ON the Downs feed innumerable flocks of Sheep, in respect of which it is hard to say, whether their fleece or their flesh be most delicate. Horses and black-cattle they have in abundance, and employ them both in drawing carriages of several sorts, particularly those which are used in conveying timber, and which are said to require sometimes a team of twenty oxen

(*e*) See the discourse of James Ley Esq; afterwards Earl of Marlborough, published by Mr. Hearne.—(*f*) Drayton's Polyolbion, song the seventh. Evelyn's Silva, chap. vii. Smith on Husbandry and Trade, p. 9.—(*g*) Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 57. Salmon's New Survey of England, vol. i. p. 51—91. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 195.—(*h*) Fuller's Worthies in Suffex, p. 97. Additions to Camden's Britannia. Beawes's Merchant's Directory, p. 583.—(*i*) Fuller's Worthies in Suffex, p. 97. Broome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 111. p. 274.

or more (*k*). Their rivers abound with most admirable fish; and, in this respect, the sea upon their coasts is not less famous, more especially for many kinds of shell-fish, in the taking of which numbers are employed, and from whose labours no despicable profits arise. Upon the whole, we may, without exceeding truth, affirm, that this is a rich, pleasant, and fruitful county; which, notwithstanding, is capable of very great improvements, and those too such, as would render it far superiour to what it now is, and be at the same time highly useful to the whole nation (*l*).

As to the manufactures of *Sussex* they depend principally upon its timber, which is excellent in its nature, has been here formerly in immense quantities, and, tho' now considerably diminished, is still plentiful, in comparison of some other parts of the kingdom (*m*). Small vessels of different sizes are built at Newhaven; and, in proportion as that port improves, this trade will increase. At New Shoreham vessels of a larger size, some for the use of the navy, but most for the merchants service, are constructed. The demand of late for these is so great, and the people here so industrious, that it is asserted, there is sometimes not so much as a single person who receives alms, a circumstance worthy not only of praise, but attention and imitation. This shows what might be farther done, in case, from the assistance given by the public which we have mentioned in a former chapter, those harbours can be gradually brought into a better state than they now are; (*n*) or, which would be still more beneficial, if a larger and deeper port could be, at any expense, made in any other part of the county. The other great manufacture of *Sussex* is iron, which is still carried on in several places, and has been carried on in many more. Iron cannon, bombs, bullets, &c. are cast to a vast value not far from Lewes, to which they are brought down by the river Ouse. At Bakeley and at Breed they make prodigious quantities of kettles, chimney-backs, and many other things; and at Chichester there is a manufacture of needles (*o*). It excites some wonder, and perhaps may deserve an inquiry, why, except this, there is no other fine manufacture of this useful metal in a country where the material might be had much cheaper, and labour at no higher a rate than in other places (*p*). There may be reasons for our not making large quantities of our own ore into iron; but

(*k*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 9. Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia. Salmon's New Survey of England, vol. i. p. 51—62.—(*l*) Camden's Britannia, p. 219—22. Fuller's Worthies in *Sussex*, p. 98. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 59.—(*m*) Samuel Hartlib's Legacy, p. 46. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 195. All the modern descriptions of *Sussex*.—(*n*) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 152.—(*o*) Capt. Smith's England's Improvement reviewed, book i. p. 9. Yarranton's England's Improvement, p. 149.—(*p*) The true reason of this is the deficiency of fuel, joined to the natural propensity that men have to proceed still in the old track, from a notion that it is dangerous to venture a certainty for an uncertainty.

for the very same reasons one would think it fit, that the little iron we do make should be manufactured to the utmost. It will be said that those who deal in these things are the best judges. So they ought certainly to be; but it is not a truth so self-evident as to admit of no altercation, that men are, in all cases, precisely what they ought. Besides all this, it is not impossible that they may know and attend to their own interests, without thinking themselves obliged to consider likewise those of the nation. There is a manufacture also of gunpowder carried on at Battel, where it is not only made in large quantities, but in the highest perfection (*q*).

The reader will perceive that all these manufactures depend chiefly, as we before remarked, upon the plenty of timber, which probably first introduced, and has since kept them here; and one would think that timber must be most plentiful in that country in which there is the greatest demand, and for which the purchasers may afford to give the highest price (*r*). The building vessels of all kinds, the making iron and gunpowder, demand great supplies of wood, and of different sorts, so that as they do not interfere with each other, or at least would not interfere, if there was a sufficient stock, one may venture to suggest that if each of these Manufactures could be extended, it would still heighten the demand, and render it more constant (*s*). I know the general apprehension is, and has been for a century past, that the iron-works interfere with the navy, and that perhaps it would be policy not only to circumscribe their number, but to put an end to them altogether, as incompatible with the growth of forests, which are of such consequence to a maritime power (*t*). However, as these manufactures are near neighbours, and have been so for a long series of years, a little time may not be ill spent in trying to reconcile them, so that they may live peaceably together for the future. This seems to be the more necessary, because coercive laws, which seldom do much good in any country, and, except against immoralities, are utterly repugnant to the genius of this nation, have been tried in this case, and tried, as might have been expected, to little purpose. Such as are possessed of forges and furnaces don't care to demolish them; and the owners of land are not much

(*q*) The making of gunpowder in this and in the adjacent county of Surry is of many years standing, and laid the foundation of great fortunes in some of the most considerable families under the degree of peerage.—(*r*) Experience justifies this; for, comparatively speaking, Hampshire and Sussex, tho' they may have less timber than they had, have still more timber than most other counties, and for this very reason.—(*s*) Evelyn's *Silva*, p. 251. Woolridge's *System of Husbandry*, chap. vi. Mortimer's *whole Art of Husbandry*, b. xi. chap. 1.—(*t*) Drayton's *Polyolbion*, song the seventh, where the complaint of the Weald for the loss of her trees is admirably expressed. Captain Smith's *England's Improvement revived*, book the first, p. 9, 10, 11. Hartlib's *Legacy, or an Enlargement of the Discourse on Husbandry*, p. 48.

inclined to carry on plantations as directed by statute (*u*). But if these laws could be dispensed with, and, from a new arrangement of things, the planting and preservation of timber, particularly in this county, should be made every man's interest beyond every thing else, we should very probably find that timber would become, from that consideration alone, every man's particular care: and it is certain that if this was once effected, all these manufactures might thrive together, and, which is still more, thrive all of them so much the better for being in the neighbourhood of each other, notwithstanding this has been hitherto thought so great a disadvantage (*x*).

BUT before we can speak to this point clearly, it is necessary that we should attend to the more immediate business of this chapter, which leads us to discuss particularly what respects the coast of Sussex. This, without regarding its indentures, extends upwards of twenty leagues, and therefore one might expect should have many, and those too serviceable, ports, and from thence a proportionable share of foreign commerce; in neither of which, if we may depend on history or record, it was once deficient. Our Saxon ancestors built abundance of good towns that became rich and well inhabited, which was certainly the result of trade in those days (*y*). In this state they continued till ruined by the depredations of the Danes, who entered with numerous fleets into their ports and rivers, and then setting on shore their forces, ravaged the country on every side; after which they reembarked with their plunder and retired (*z*). The Norman conqueror landed upon this coast; it is not easy to say where: but wherever it was, he brought with him nine hundred vessels and fifty thousand men, which is sufficient to demonstrate the Havens of this country to have been in a different state from what they are now, otherwise his ships could not have entered them (*a*). In the reign of king Edward the third, Hastings, Shoreham, and Seaford, furnished thirty ships and five hundred seamen for his fleet (*b*). But so much were things

(*u*) See Sir Walter Raleigh's very sensible speech on this head, in Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journals of all the parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 674.—(*x*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 219. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 9. Yarranton's England's Improvement, p. 149.—(*y*) Lelandi Commentar. in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 97. Lambard's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 72. 190. 423. Dr. Boarde's Peregrinations under the title of Havens. Camdeni Britannia, p. 219—228. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 9.—(*z*) Chron. Saxon. p. 141. 7. Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annal. lib. vii. p. 52. Sir John Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 83.—(*a*) Chronicon Godſtavianum, p. 81. Brevi Relatio de Willielmo nobiliſſimo Comite Normanorum, p. 7. Willielmi Malmeſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. Roger Hoved. Annal. p. 448. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 359.—(*b*) Roll of King Edward's fleet in Hackluyt. vol. i. p. 119. This was less than three hundred years after the conquest, and it was still a great and flourishing port.

changed in the reign of queen Elizabeth (*c*), that the still subsisting, and once flourishing ports in Suffex, had amongst them no more than sixty-six barks, all of them under eighty tons, and but two hundred and fifty seamen. The detriment arising from hence was now become so conspicuous, that some thoughts were entertained of recovering and repairing these Havens; in order to which a contribution was granted in favour of Hastings, which seems to have been in the nature of a brief; and was very probably attended with no great effect (*d*).

THE usual cause assigned for the spoiling these ports is the narrowness of the channel, which, with the violence of the south, south-east, and south-west winds, drive prodigious quantities of beach, slime, and sand into the mouths of their rivers, and so choke them that no ships of any great burden can enter; and as to those harbours with which, from their position on the coast, we are more particularly concerned here, such as Brighthelmston and Seaford, which on that account merit so much the more attention, their cliffs being undermined, those of the former more especially, they are left in a distressed and declining condition (*e*). It may however be demanded how this will account for their suffering so much in the last three hundred years? as it is evident they have done even from those slender memorials we have left. I will not presume to say that I can set this in a very satisfactory light, but for the reader's information I think it my duty to try. It has been long ago observed, as a thing peculiar to this county, that all its rivers rise therein (*f*), and consequently can be but of a short course. When the iron works were first undertaken in Suffex, they made so many cuts from each of these rivers for their accommodation, that they weakened the strength of their streams; which had two bad effects, lessening the depths of the rivers, and the force of that natural rapidity with which they carried out the slime,

(*c*) Muster of ships and mariners through all England, by Edward (Clinton) Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral, taken in A. D. 1582.—(*d*) We have a very full and curious account of this matter (which the reader will be pleased to see) in Dr. Philemon Holland's English translation of Camden's *Britannia*, p. 210. 'Thus Hastings flourished long; inhabited with a warlike people and skilful sailors; well stored with Barks and Craies; and gained much by fishing, which is plentiful along the shore. But after that the pier made of timber was at length violently carried away by extreme rage of the sea, it hath decayed, and the fishing less used by reason of the dangerous landing, for they are enforced to work their vessels to land by a Capstall or Crane. In which respect, for the bettering of the town, queen Elizabeth granted a contribution toward the making of a new harbour, which was begun; but the contribution was quickly converted into private purses, and the public good neglected.'—(*e*) Morden's Description of England, p. 76. Bromé's Travels thro' England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 276. Cotler's Coasting Pilot, p. 10, 11.—(*f*) Camden's *Britannia*, p. 219—228. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, vol. 9. Fuller's Worthies in Suffex, p. 97.

lodged at their mouths (*g*). From the first cause chiefly they began to overflow, and thence grew another mischief; instead of repelling the waters into their original channels, they, in order to recover their grounds, made new cuts, and, in my conception at least, by gaining of marshes lost their ports (*h*). Yet we may rationally suppose, that they are not, even at this time, so irremediably destroyed, but that with due cost and care, and with the steady continuance of proper attention, they may be recovered; in support of which opinion, what has been actually performed with respect to Arundel and Newhaven may be very well urged (*i*). This, if it could be done, would be very advantageous to the county, and must, in its consequences, tend to the reviving those decayed boroughs, the inhabitants of which seem to think they have a right, by the venality of their elections, to make reprisals upon those, by whom they have been so long, and, as their condition plainly shows, so utterly neglected. But without dwelling farther upon these, we will proceed to another point, which would more immediately and perhaps more effectually answer the purpose.

At the Eastern extremity of this county there is a very capacious bay or rather Æstuary, on which were anciently two good ports, Rye and Winchelsea. The latter furnished the fleet of Edward the Third with twenty-one ships, and five hundred and ninety-six seamen; the former with nine ships and one hundred and fifty-six men (*k*). Since that time both have been gradually decaying, and Winchelsea is long ago lost, for the protection of which Henry the Eighth built Camber castle, at the expense of twenty-three thousand pounds, which, even in the purse of the crown, was no inconsiderable sum in those days (*l*). As to Rye, we have elsewhere shown that it is in a very indifferent condition, tho' several acts have been successively passed for its relief (*m*). But, which now seems the only means left, if the public would take this affair entirely into its own hands, and by proper purchases remove all the impediments that must otherwise arise from private property,

(*g*) The rivers of Suffex in their natural state were, as we observe in the text, rapid, and consequently deep. The cuts drawn from them diminished their force; the earthy particles which were before borne along, by the velocity of motion, in their waters, began immediately to subside, which by raising gradually but constantly the bottom of the rivers, made them of course overflow; a thing which at first sight seems strange, but, when maturely considered, appears rational and certain.—(*h*) Lambard's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 312. Harrison's Description of Britain, chap. xii. p. 53. Sir William Dugdale's History of Imbanking, cap. xix.—(*i*) Yarranton's England's Improvement, P. ii. p. 97. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 11. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 11.—(*k*) Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 119. Leland's Itinerary, vol. vi. fol. 58, Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower, p. 20.—(*l*) Leland's Commentar. in Ælfrædum cantuariensis, p. 97. Dr. Douce's Peregrination under the Head of Castles. Lambard's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 430.—(*m*) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 152.

there might still, tho' perhaps it would prove expensive, be a large and commodious haven made there, and then surely no place would be more fit for a royal yard, in which ships might be built and equipped with great conveniency (*k*). Timber and iron would be at hand; and if hemp and flax were raised in the adjacent country, ropes and sail cloth might be procured with the like ease. This would not only prove very beneficial to the counties of Suffex and Kent, but also to the nation in general; as great savings might arise from hence in the article of ship-building; (*l*) a safe and good port be obtained where it is much wanted; and all those advantages retrieved, which our ancestors possessed when those two ports were in a flourishing condition, and which were of great importance to them, and no doubt would be so to us, whenever this nation is at war with France.

As such an establishment would not only augment the demand for timber, but, by causing a consumption both constant and uniform, render the profit arising from the woodlands more regular and certain; as the charcoal for iron works, the poles for hops, the small coal for the powder mills, would enable their owners to sell the loppings of their large trees, their coppice, and underwoods, at all times for their full value: (*m*) As the conveniency of being regularly furnished with bark might be urged as an inducement to bring and to settle abundance of tanners at or in the neighbourhood of Arundel, Steyning, Lewes, and other places, this would contribute to the same end: (*n*) As a quick sale for all sorts of timber must be the most powerful motive for raising wood of every sort; and as this manner of raising it is the only effectual method, in the opinion of the best judges, of rendering planting profitable; and as planting and selling judiciously, in a country where there is such a certain and regular consumption, must turn greatly to the benefit of the owners of land thus employed; which, under due regulation, could never be exhausted, as the experience of the same land producing wood for so ma-

(*k*) Whoever considers the nineteenth chapter of Sir William Dugdale's history of imbanking, and peruses the several statutes made for repairing the harbour of Rye, will see sufficient cause to concur with me in this opinion.—(*l*) It is the consequence of a neglect of such points of public oeconomy, that the present immense debt of the nation has been incurred; and we can never hope to see it discharged till savings of every kind are attended to, and thereby the current expence so lessened, as to admit an uninterrupted application of the sinking fund to the purpose for which it was first intended.—(*m*) Tusser's five hundred points of good husbandry, chap. lii. p. 106. Blith's English improver improved, chap. xxiv. Smith's England's improvement revived, book ii, iii, iv.—(*n*) It may not be amiss to remark here, that every river in Suffex, whether navigable or not, will serve to bring down bark; and certainly where that necessary commodity can be had in most plenty, and is carried with greatest ease, it must come cheapest to the consumer, which, in the nature of things, would attract and attach them to this county.

ny hundred years incontestably demonstrates : (o) There seems to be nothing clearer than that it is very possible all these different demands for several species of this commodity might be duly supplied, and supplied in such a manner, as, instead of interfering with, might facilitate each other, to the mutual benefit of the owners of the materials, and of the persons engaged in the several manufactures; to the apparent emolument of this county in particular, as well as to the advancement of the public interest (p).

IT is true some have made a doubt, whether the raising timber in this kingdom, at least within a few miles of navigable rivers, be of any benefit to the nation. In support of this, it is said, that the land upon which wood grows may, in such places, be turned to more valuable purposes, because either pasture or arable lands, for the present, and in their consequences employ many hands; whereas timber growing finds work for few or none. The answer to this is, that prudence will ever deter planting, where the circumstances on which this argument is founded are obvious. But timber is, in many respects, a thing necessary, more especially in an island inhabited by a trading people; and it cannot be wisdom to prefer things of convenience to what are of indispensable use. If, in its growth, wood employs but few, it hinders none; and when cut, gives subsistence to so many, that one cannot help wondering at the objection (q). It is also said, that destroying it near navigable rivers would promote the consumption of coals, which is highly beneficial to the navigation, the revenue, and the inhabitants of the countries where they are produced, and who are thus rewarded for their labour. We

(o) Mr. Evelyn, in his *Sylva* (tho' no friend to iron works), acknowledges, it was his father's sentiment, founded upon experience, that the iron works preserved his woods. It is easy to conceive this. He felled a part regularly every year, leaving the choice timber standing, which he was enabled to do, by the profits arising from these annual sales of charcoal. In other words, the iron works afforded a constant market, which rendered the raising wood for their consumption an improvement; the regular falls produced a reasonable rent; and the timber, which he was thus enabled to leave, was reserved as a fine. How then could land be either better secured or employed?—(p) Blith's *English Improver improved*, chap. xxv. Worlidge's *System of Husbandry*, chap. vi. Evelyn's *Silva*, book iii. Mortimer's *whole Art of Husbandry*, P. ii. chap. 11. See also Haïnes's *Prevention of Poverty*, London, 1674. 8vo. §. v.—(q) It is of great consequence, if possible, to reduce things of this nature to a certainty. Captain Blith, who was an old officer in the parliament's army, tells us, in his *English Improver improved*, chap. xxv. p. 164. of a gentleman in the low countries, who planted one hundred ash trees, and in fifty years after sold them for five hundred pounds. If, says the captain, any man knows how to make a greater improvement, I wish I was his scholar. Mr. Evelyn the great champion of trees, speaks in his *Sylva*, book iii. chap. vii. p. 276. thus; 'Mr. Edmund Salter of Norfolk planted an ash with his own hands, which he sold for forty shillings before his death. But this is frequent. I am likewise assured that three acres of barren land, sown with acorns about sixty years since, are now become a very thriving wood. The improvement of those few acres amounts to three hundred pounds more than the rent of the land, and what it was before worth to be sold.'

have

have already shown a just regard for the coal trade, and stated its advantages fully and fairly; but amongst these, none of the least was the encouragement given to ship-building, which necessarily requires large supplies of timber. But this we are told may be had from abroad, and therefore there is no necessity for growing it (*r*). Timber thus used, is one of those prime materials which, as we hinted before, it highly imports a nation, studious of her commercial interests, to have as cheap, with as much ease, in as great quantities, and with as perfect certainty, as possible. These ends can only be answered by her having it of her own, and in abundance; for we can never hope to maintain the character of a naval power, if, in this respect, we render ourselves absolutely dependant upon other states, who will consult, what in this instance we should neglect, domestic interest. Our colonies, it must be acknowledged, are not to be looked upon as foreign countries, and doubtless, for that reason, ought to have the preference; that is, to be allowed to furnish what, in respect to other products, we cannot raise for ourselves, rather than others. But while there are in this country large tracts lying utterly waste, others but in a little better condition; while forests remain in the hands of the crown, or rather in theirs on whom the crown is pleased to bestow them; while the nobility and gentry have parks for their pleasure; and so many commons are to be found, equally useless and scandalous from their barren ap-

(*r*) The arguments against planting are taken chiefly from Mr. Houghton, who in his *Collections for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, vol. iii. p. 179. endeavours to invalidate the instances before produced from Mr. Evelyn. 'As to Mr. Edmund Salter,' says he, 'who planted an ash, and before his death sold it for forty shillings, I will not reckon the ground this ash grew on to be worth any thing; but suppose the ash when planted was worth but one Shilling, and the man lived but eighty-four years after, the shilling would have amounted to six pounds eight shillings, which is far better than forty shillings. Again, three acres of barren land sown with acorns, in sixty years became a very thriving wood, and was worth three hundred pounds. Being it was barren land, I will suppose it worth but three shillings the acre, nine shillings the three acres, which for sixty years were worth, in present money, fifteen pounds nine shillings and seven pence, which doubled every twelve years, makes four hundred and ninety-five pounds six shillings and eight pence. Suppose that the tillage, acorns, and setting, came to the third part of fifteen pounds nine shillings and seven pence, it would be upwards of one hundred and sixty-five pounds, which together makes above six hundred pounds for the three hundred pounds.' These however are mere fallacies; for as to the first, if Mr. Salter had survived fourscore and four years, Mr. Evelyn would not have added; 'this is frequent.' Next, an hundred ash-plants were worth, as the same gentlemen tells us, 'but eighteen pence. According to Mr. Blith, an ash in the low countries was, at fifty years growth, of the value of five pounds; and this ash in the same space might surely be worth forty shillings here; and this is twice as much as one shilling at six per cent. compound interest, if it were possible to make it, would produce in that time. In the latter case, he supposes a rent without the least foundation; converts that into a rent-charge which is quite a different thing; and then computes the value of this rent-charge at six per cent. compound interest, for sixty years; omitting entirely what destroys his whole calculation, and which Mr. Evelyn expressly affirms, 'that over and above the three hundred pounds, the wood would have paid the rent and the value of the estate when planted.'

pearance;

pearance; surely the suffering our timber to decay, as the demands we have for it daily multiply, in consequence of which the price of what is imported greatly increases, is far from being oeconomy; and our late laws made to repair these losses, and to remove these reproaches for the future, call for the warmest sentiments of applause and gratitude. But in the present case we do not precisely reason from these principles. It may, independent of the circumstances of waste, barren, or unoccupied lands, be in some places very prudent to plant with a view to profit; and where private interest coincides with public benefit, we may see cause to encourage it. The creating a variety of consumers, in the manner before stated, is the surest means, as it promises a copious and a constant market, which furnishes such as incline to supply it with a foundation for their calculations, which will effectually put it in their power to judge whether they ought to plant at all, and at the same time direct them where and to what extent. In this respect also they may be influenced by observing what lands are, in the language of improvers, woodseer; that is, naturally apt for this, and at the same time unfit for other improvements: and what, though at present unprofitable, may, by planting, be rendered (which is a common thing) good ground for other uses, when the wood is grubbed. They may farther consider the expediency of augmenting hop-grounds, or introducing other improvements, which may be assistant, and supply any unforeseen deficiency which time and chance may occasion in the rest. All together will form a rule of conduct, which thus founded on facts, and confirmed by computations, will hardly be liable to contradiction from experience, but, on the contrary, turn highly to every planter's own satisfaction, from the prospect of those blessings which, by his attention and application, will be derived to posterity (s).

THE great, indeed the only objection to this system, is, that the profit of Woodlands depending altogether upon a regular management, and there being, as things now stand, no security for this, there is a kind of a moral certainty that, for want of it, this scheme must in a great measure, if not wholly, fail: For if indigence and avarice meet, a bargain will soon be struck, at a price equally injurious to private property and to the interest of the public. Men prejudiced against their heirs, or

(s) But, after all that has been said, perhaps a just calculation in this way may let this contested point in the clearest light. Let us suppose, with Mr. Houghton, the land worth three shillings an acre; the fee-simple of the whole three acres, at six per cent. will be worth sixteen years and eight months purchase, that is, seven pounds ten shillings. This, at six per cent. compound interest, amounts in sixty years to near two hundred forty-seven pounds. Mr. Houghton then seems to me the ablest advocate that planting ever had; since, from his reasoning, it appears this kind of innocent improvement will really bring an honest man more, than to the vilest miser the most gripping usury can promise.

who have no regard to posterity, will commonly consult only their own profit. Such as have precarious or uncertain tenures will be sure to do it. On the other hand, the slow growth of timber promising, in most cases, but little to the present possessor, few in an age like this will from thence ever think of planting. To find remedies for these evils, and many others which might be enumerated, is very difficult; those that have been hitherto applied proving also ineffectual is not a little discouraging; and yet, after all, perhaps the thing is not impossible. The public having so great an interest in raising large quantities of timber fit for ship-building, it might not be amiss to exempt waste lands, converted into plantations, from paying any land-tax; provided the timber, when fit for use, was sold at a fair price for the service of the navy. (t) It might be also expedient to grant every copyholder a right to vote at county elections, who had timber fit for use upon his estate, to the value of fifty pounds. (u) As wise and prudent men only are planters, and as such may be dissuaded, and justly too, from planting, from the fear of having their honest views frustrated by improvident heirs, the legislature might enable them to devise woods and coppices of their own planting, under such reasonable restrictions as the court of Chancery should approve; and prohibit the cutting them, or disposing of them, in any other manner, by those to whom the inheritance devolved. (w) These, or any other provisions of a like nature, duly observed, would obviate many, if not all the discouragements that hinder, and are still likely to hinder this kind of improvement; and tho' faults might be found with them at first, yet the advantages that must attend them, would, in the space of half a century, so clearly and so effectually refute every cavil that could be invented, as to prevent those laws from being ever repealed. (x) On these principles, one tenth part of the land in the county of Sussex, properly planted, would be more beneficial to the nation than the discovery of a mine that produced half a million sterling annually, (y) without taking into consideration the number of people destroyed in working mines, or even the consequence of those

(t) Here the public, losing nothing, acquires a title to the pre-emption of timber, which, without this concession, had never existed; and which, without some such concession, is not like ever to exist.—(u) In this case the public gains the growth of so much timber without being at any expense; and purchases a public benefit by bestowing a public privilege.—(w) In most cases this indulgence would be certainly reasonable; where it proved otherwise, Chancery would interfere.—(x) As such a law would be chiefly in favour of posterity, so posterity judging, from effects, would best discern the utility of such a law.—(y) There are many circumstances in which woods resemble mines; but, in some, the former have manifestly the advantage of the latter. 1. They are the effects of human prudence, and not of accident. 2. They are cultivated and cut down by a few hands, and at a small expense. 3. They yield a lasting and certain, and, under proper direction, a perpetual profit.

numerous

numerous manufactures the product of such woodlands would support, which, as will be easily conceived, must exceed that sum many times told. (z)

THE noble and fruitful county of Kent makes the south-east extremity of this island, and from thence enjoys, in many respects, a most advantageous situation. The capacious Æstuary of the Thames washes its northern parts, as the sea does the south-east; whence some, with no great impropriety, have styled it a Peninsula. (a) In point of extent, this is the fifth shire in south Britain, little less in its dimensions than the province of Holland; larger in size than the beautiful dutchy of Juliers in Germany; and almost exactly equal to that of Modena in Italy. (b) Kent is, with great appearance of truth, supposed to be so styled from the ancient British word KANT, signifying a corner, or, when applied to a country, an head-land. It is certain, that the Romans bestowed the name of Cantium on the province, and on its most conspicuous promontory, the north Foreland; and, from the district they inhabited, the people were called Cantii; which has prevailed even to our times, when Kent, and the men of Kent, are the common appellatives. (c) It is, however, probable, that these Cantii were not the original inhabitants, but a later colony from the opposite continent, established here, like the Belgæ, not long before the Roman invasion. (d) At the time of Cæsar's coming, this spacious and fertile region was divided into four principalities, or, as they are, according to the manners of those days, commonly called, kingdoms. It was his observation of these people, that they were particularly distinguished by their civility and politeness; a character which their descendants have preserved. (e) When that wise people became masters of the southern parts of the island, this province received the most conspicuous marks of their attention, as appears from the stations which they so prudently established, while in its full vigour, their government flourished. The care they took of the ports on the sea-coast, as soon as it came to be in danger, and the several fortresses which

(z) The reader may also consult, if he pleases, Mascall's *New Art of Planting*, 1656, 4to. Dr. Beal of Herefordshire on *Orchards*, 1657, 12mo. Charles Cotton's *Planter's Manual*, 1675, 8vo. William Lawson's *New Orchard and Garden*, 1683, 4to. 6th edit. Timothy Nourse's *Campania*, 1700, 8vo.—(a) Speed's *Theatre of the British Empire*, fol. 7. Fuller's *Worthies in Kent*, p. 56. Childrey's *Britannia Baconica*, p. 60—70.—(b) Templeman's *Survey of the Globe*, plates i. vi. ix. xiii.—(c) Cæf. de *Bello Gallico*, lib. v. Camdeni *Britannia*, p. 230. Baxteri *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, p. 66.—(d) The learned and judicious Baxter mentions, that, in some copies of Ptolemy, this country is called Nucantion, de Nucantiis, five novis Cantiacis Belgici generis; which Salmon also thinks not improbable. If so, the ancient inhabitants, now driven within land, were called Cantii, as well as these new settlers, and both from the country in which they dwelt.—(e) Cæf. de *Bello Gallico*, lib. v. Gulielm. Malmesbur. in *Prologo libri primi de Gestis Pontif. Anglor.* Camdeni *Britannia*, p. 230.

they

they erected, for the defence of their subjects, against the sudden attempts of barbarous invaders, are evidences of the same kind (*f*). These forts, so prudently disposed, and so well secured, were under the direction of a particular great officer, whom we have already mentioned more than once, called *Litoris Saxonici Comes*, i. e. the Count of the Saxon shore; which office seems to have been preserved by the British monarchs who governed here, after the Romans quitted the isle. The Saxon kings of Kent discharged this trust in their regal capacity, from the middle of the fifth to the beginning of the ninth century. Under our northern princes, this post was again revived, though with a change of title, in the Lord Warden of the Cinque ports. (*g*) Indeed, under all governments, the people of Kent have been especially considered, as appears from their claim to the post of honour in our land armies, and the privileges granted to their havens, in consideration of their undertaking the defence of our channel. (*b*)

As to the climate of this county, it varies, according to the situation of places. In the low flat lands, and especially in the marshes, the air is heavy, moist, and unhealthy; and yet not to such a degree as it has been some times represented; and, with a little care and caution, strangers, as well as natives, quickly reconcile their constitutions to the temperature, even of these parts, and live in them, without much inconvenience or apparent danger. But, in reference to the rest of the county, the air, is as thin, pure, and wholesome, as in any part of Britain. (*i*) There is no region more happily or more beautifully diversified in regard to soil, so that every kind thereof is, somewhere or other, to be met with in its bounds; and in no shire are any of these soils more fertile than they are in this. (*k*) The Weald yields variety of fine timber, particularly of chesnut; the middle part has very rich arable land, annually bearing every species of grain in immense plenty, and these excellent in their several sorts. (*l*) There are also many beautiful orchards, which produce a variety of fine fruits, and more especially apples and cherries, which were introduced here from Flanders, by one RICHARD HARRIS, who was the king's fruiterer, in the reign of Hen-

(*f*) *Ex Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani, circa Tempora Arcadii et Honorii. Camdeni Britannia, p. 230. Twinus de Rebus Albionis, p. 50.*—(*g*) *Gildæ Historia, sect. xvi. p. 12. Edit. Oxon. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 12. Somner's Roman Ports and Forts in Kent, Oxf. 1693. 8vo.*—(*h*) *Joannis Saresberienfis Policraticus, lib. vi. cap. 18. Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 63. Drayton's Polyolbion, song the 18th.*—(*i*) *Speed's British Empire, fol. 7. Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 56. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 60.*—(*k*) *Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 9, 10. Camdeni Britannia, p. 230. Drayton's Polyolbion, song the 18th; where the natural products of this shire are most elegantly described.*—(*l*) *Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 56. Stukely's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 123. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 60.*

ry the Eighth. (*m*) The flat country is renowned for its meadows; and Rumney marsh has hardly its equal. Wemay, from this concise description, very easily collect, that the natural products of Kent are numerous, and of great value. In the bowels of the earth they find, in several places, a rough hard serviceable stone for paving, which turns to some advantage; but not to so much as their exquisite Fullers-earth, rich Marl, and fine Chalk, which are there in abundance. If we except iron-ore, indeed, they have no mines; but there are prodigious heaps of copperas stones thrown on the coast. (*n*) The isle of Shepey, and all the adjacent shore as far as Reculver, is justly famous for its wheat. Thanet is in no less credit for its barley, or rather was so; for now it produces, through the painful industry, and skilful husbandry of its inhabitants, copious crops of good wheat, as well as barley. (*o*) Horses, black cattle, and sheep, they have in great numbers, and remarkable in point of size. Hop-grounds in all parts of the county, which turn to very considerable account. To which we may add, weld, or, as some call it, diers-weed, which is a very profitable commodity, of which there grows much in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, and madder, which is, or has been, occasionally cultivated. The rivers and sea-coasts abound with fish of different kinds. (*p*) The excellency of its oysters on the eastern shore, is celebrated by the Roman poets. (*q*) Those of Faversham and Milton are not only in great esteem at the London market, but are likewise sent in great quantities to Holland (*r*). And, in a word, take this ample territory in general, and we may truly affirm, that, in regard to plenty, Kent is another Canaan, fruitful in all good things, and in which there are fewer forests and waste lands, than in most other counties.

(*m*) Dr. Holland's insertions in the text of Mr. Camden's *Britannia*, in Kent. Kilburne's Survey of the County of Kent, p. 6, 7. Fuller's *Worthies in Kent*, p. 56. Samuel Hartlib's *Legacy of Husbandry*, p. 15; where he says, a cherry-orchard, near Sittingbourne, of thirty acres, produced a thousand pounds a year. Evelyn's *Sylva*, p. 64.—(*n*) Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 11. Speed's *Theatre of the British Empire*, fol. 7. Sir William Dugdale's *History of Draining and Imbanking*, chap. x. Childrey's *Britannia Baconica*, p. 67. Additions to the English translation of Camden's *Britannia*.—(*o*) Kilburne's Survey of the County of Kent, p. 6, 7. Brome's *Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales*, p. 280. Harris's *History of Kent*, p. 280. The *History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of the Isle of Thanet in Kent*, by John Lewis, M. A. Lond. 1723, 4to. p. 7, 8.—(*p*) Fuller's *Worthies in Kent*, p. 57. Blith's *English Improver improved*, chap. xxxiii. xxxvi. Mortimer's *whole Art of Husbandry*, book v. chap. 17.—(*q*) Juvenal, Sat. iv. The scholiast informs us, that these were very large oysters, and that their excellence had made this coast very famous. In dredging for oysters, at this day (the sea having prevailed in some places), the fishermen often bring up vessels of several kinds, remains of roman magnificence; and consequently, pregnant proofs of the opulence of their stations, when they were possessed of Kent.—(*r*) Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 259. Harris's *History of Kent*, p. 123, 207. Dr. Christopher Packe's *Ancography, or Description of East Kent*, p. 12.

THE many rich commodities produced in this fair county, is the reason why most of our writers have represented it as in a manner void of manufactures; which, however, as appears upon a strict and impartial examination, is very far from being the case. Iron works there were anciently many; and there are still some, where kettles, bombs, bullets, cannon, and such-like, are made (*s*). At Deptford, Sir Nicholas Crispe had, in his life-time, a very famous copperas work; as, indeed, there that ingenious gentleman, one of the greatest improvers, and one of the most public-spirited persons this nation ever bred, introduced several other inventions. Copperas was also formerly made, together with brimstone, in the isle of Shepey (*t*). But the original, and, for many ages, the principal manufacture of this county, was broad cloth, of different colours, established chiefly at Cranbrook, by king Edward the third, who brought over Flemings, to improve and perfect (the trade being introduced long before) his subjects in that important art (*u*). At this and other places it flourished so much, that, even at the close of queen Elizabeth's reign, and, according to some accounts, much later, the best for home consumption, and the largest quantities for exportation, were wrought here; many fulling-mills being erected upon almost every river, and the greatest plenty of excellent Fullers-earth affording them singular assistance; (*w*) insomuch, that it is still a tradition, the yeomanry of this county, for which it has been ever famous, were mostly the descendants of rich clothiers, who laid out the money acquired by their industry in the purchase of lands, which they transmitted, with their free and independent spirit, to their posterity. (*x*) The duke of Alva's persecution of the protestants in the low countries drove a multitude of Walloons over hither, who brought with them that ingenuity and application for which they had been always distinguished (*y*). These diligent and active people settled a manufactory of flannel, or baize, at Sandwich. By them the silk-looms were set up at Canterbury, where they still subsist; and they also introduced the making of thread

(*s*) Harrison's Description of Britain, B. iii. ch. xi. p. 238. Stat. 23 Eliz. cap. 5. sect. 11. 27 Eliz. cap. 12. sect. 1. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 7.—(*t*) Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. 142. p. 1056—1059. See the article of Crispe, Sir Nicholas, in Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 1522. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 67.—(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. i. p. 496. A. D. 1331. Stowe's Annals, p. 233. Cotton's Records, p. 76. Dr. Holland's insertions in the text of Mr. Camden's Britannia, in Kent.—(*w*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 15. Kilburne's Survey of the County of Kent, p. 6. Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 58.—(*x*) Lambard's Perambulation, p. 12, 13, 14. Fuller's Worthies in Kent, p. 62. Verstegan's Restitution of decayed Intelligence, p. 259.—(*y*) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, vol. i. p. 174. Fuller's Church History, book iii. cent. xiv. p. 111, 112. Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 554.

at Maidstone, where it yet remains, and merits more notice and encouragement, than hitherto it has met with (z).

UPON the river Dart, at the confluence of which with the Thames stands the town of Dartford; was set up, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the first mill for making white paper, by Mr. John Spilman, a German, upon whom, long after, king James conferred the honour of knighthood; but king Charles, more sensibly, bestowed upon this sir John Spilman a patent, and a pension of two hundred pounds a year, as the reward of his invention, and for the support of the manufacture. (a) About the year 1590, Godfrey Box, a German, erected upon the same river the first flitting-mill which was ever used for making iron wire; and also the first battery-mill for making copper-plates (b). Other new inventions, requiring the assistance of water, have been set up on other streams; and a great variety of machines of this sort still subsist in different parts of this county. But these things are now so common, that it would be both tedious and useless to insist upon them. Amongst these, we may reckon the making gunpowder, in several places (c). That manufacture, however, which is now the glory of this county, and, indeed, of Britain, is ship-building; more especially at the royal yards: as at Woolwich, which was settled by Henry the eighth, and some considerable ships built there. At present, there is not only a most complete establishment for the building and equipping men of war, a rope-walk, foundry, and magazines, but also many private docks, in which prodigious business is carried on, and multitudes of people employed (d). Deptford, which from a fishing village of a few houses, called West Greenwich, the same monarch raised to a flourishing town, by building ships there, and establishing the Trinity-house. This also has been much enlarged, improved, and rendered more convenient, in succeeding times (e). Chatham was made a royal yard by queen Elizabeth, and owed its first establishment to that great seaman Sir John Hawkins, who, with Sir Francis Drake, deserves to be styled the father of our mariners, for settling that inestimable fund of charity there, denominated from thence the CHEST at CHATHAM (f). Sheerness, or Shireness, is

(z) Dr. Holland's insertions in the text of Mr. Camden's *Britannia*, in Kent. Somner's antiquities of Canterbury, p. 175. Harris's history of Kent, p. 63. Newton's history of Maidstone, chap. viii. p. 101.—(a) Stowe's annals, p. 1040. Kilburne's survey of Kent, p. 70. Harris's history of Kent, p. 93.—(b) Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 453. Stowe's annals, p. 1040. Harris's history of Kent, p. 93.—(c) Camdeni *Annales Elizabethæ*, vol. i. p. 86. Houghton's collections for the improvement of husbandry and trade, No. ccxxviii, ccxxix. Burchet's naval history, p. 343.—(d) Kilburne's survey of Kent, p. 6. Fuller's worthies in Kent, p. 59. Additions to Camden's *Britannia*.—(e) Lelandi *Commentar. in Cygneam Cantionem*, p. 29. Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 428, 429. Kilburne's survey of Kent, p. 73.—(f) Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 365. Camdeni *Annales Elizabethæ*, vol. i. p. 86. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, book v. p. 454.

the latest of these yards, which came to be considered, from the fort erected by king Charles the II^d. to cover the mouth of the Medway. It is now very much augmented, and rendered in all respects so commodious, that ships of great force are built there. (*g*) It requires no great penetration to discern how beneficial all these establishments must be to this county.

IN speaking of the sea-ports in this county, we will begin from the borders of Suffex, and with that which the learned Somner will have to be the *PORTUS LEMANIS* of the Romans. (*h*) I will not presume either to defend or dispute his opinion; because I am satisfied he was, in all respects, a much better judge than I. This, however, I think is certain, that he has proved the river Rother was anciently called Limene; that it ran into an *Æstuary* of the sea, below Appledore; that this *Æstuary* had at its mouth, which consequently was more than two miles broad, Lyd on one side, and Old Romney on the other. (*i*) This last was anciently a very great place, and the original Cinque port; having a noble and capacious harbour, by which it was so much enriched, that, at the time of the conquest, it had twelve wards, a priory, and an hospital, and several, some affirm seven, parish-churches (*k*). But, in process of time, the sea falling, or rather being driven, from it, New Romney, which lies about a mile and half to the west, came in its place, old Romney becoming a member thereto; and, in the reign of Edward the third, furnished to his fleet four ships, and sixty-five men (*l*). In the reign of Henry the eighth, it was considered as a port [that which in memory had been so, being then become a church-yard] almost gone, the sea lying about two miles from it (*m*). At present, it has lost all pretensions of that kind, except that it continues to send two barons to parliament, as one of the Cinque ports.

HITH, or, as it is sometimes wrote, Hethe, is another of the Cinque ports, risen, as is supposed, out of the ruins of West Hithe, as that again sprang from the decay of Lyme-Hill, which many of our great antiquaries esteem the true *PORTUS LEMANIS*; the rather, because at that place there are many ancient ruins, some Roman coins, and other

(*g*) Additions to the English translation of Camden's *Britannia*. Dr. E. Chamberlayne's present state of England, A. D. 1687. 8vo. p. 182. Harris's history of Kent, p. 281.—(*h*) Treatise of the Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 37—756 where the point is fully discussed, with equal industry and learning.—(*i*) *Annales Saxon.* p. 165. 26 A. D. 1052. *Gulielm. Pictaviens. Gul. Ducis*, p. 204. *Twini Comment. de Rebus Albion.* p. 31.—(*k*) *Domesd. f. 4. a col. 1.* Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 197. Kilburne's survey of Kent, p. 232.—(*l*) Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. vii. in the appendix, p. 143. Hackluyt's collection of voyages, vol. i. p. 119. Madox *Firma Burgi*, p. 139.—(*m*) Additions to Camden's *Britannia* in the English translation. Brome's travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 284, 285. Harris's history of Kent, p. 264.

antiquities, found (*n*). To this it may be added, that there is a direct Roman road from hence to Canterbury, now called Stoney-street (*o*). Besides these, there is also another reason, which is, that SHIPWAY, lying near it, was the court of the lord Warden of these ports; where he was sworn into his office; where his Court of Pleas was held; and where the records of the five towns were kept (*p*). Hith was anciently a great town, as Leland acquaints us; had four parishes, though now there is only a chapel, dependent upon the parish-church of Saltwood (*q*). Hence it appears, that the welfare of these places, springing from their ports, shifted as those did; and as this of Hith is now in a manner utterly lost, notwithstanding some chargeable attempts to prevent it, this place, except the privilege of sending members, retains nothing of its former greatness (*r*).

FOLKSTONE, in the opinion of some great antiquaries, was honoured with a Roman fort; and, if ruins and remains are sufficient proofs, this conjecture will hardly admit of any dispute (*s*). The learned and judicious Somner, however, is not altogether convinced even by these; yet he thinks that this, rather than Stonar in the island of Thanet, is the LAPIS TITULI, mentioned by one of our ancient historians (*t*). Be these things as they will, it is very certain that Folkstone had once a good port, and was a far more considerable place than it is at present. It was part of the possessions of that famous Saxon nobleman earl Godwin; had, at the conquest, five parish-churches, and paid a rent of one hundred and ten pounds per annum (*u*). But it is now long ago, since four of those parish-churches, a nunnery, and a fortress, have been swallowed up by the sea: which misfor-

(*n*) Leland's Itinerary, in the appendix, vol. vii. p. 141. Roberti Talboti Annot. in Antonini Itiner. Brit. itin. iv. Camdeni Britannia, p. 246.—(*o*) Leland's Itinerary, in the appendix to vol. vii. p. 141. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 149. Salmon's new survey of England, vol. i. p. 21.—(*p*) Roberti Talboti Annotat. in Antonini Itiner. ubi supra. Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 183. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 144.—(*q*) Leland's Itinerary, in the appendix to vol. vii. p. 141. Lambard's historical and topographical Dictionary, p. 152. Brome's travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 292.—(*r*) Dr. Wallis, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. clxxv. p. 978. Samuel Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque ports, Lond. 1728, fol. p. 109. Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia.—(*s*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 246. Kilburne's Survey of the County of Kent, p. 103, 104. Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia. Leland speaks of a boat almost full of gold and silver Roman antiquities, found by a peasant here.—(*t*) Nennii Historia Britonum, cap. xlv. Somner's Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 94. Archbishop Usher, however, places Lapis Tituli at Stonar. Baxter follows him; but Salmon will have it at Richborough, and calls it the Pharos of Rutupium. The learned bishop Stillingfleet, the judicious Dr. Gale, and the inquisitive Dr. Stukeley, follow Somner.—(*u*) Lambard's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 116. Kilburne's Survey of the county of Kent, p. 103, 104. Additions to the English Translation of Camden's Britannia.

tune, great as it is, Folkstone shows us is still less than being absolutely deserted by it; for, having yet a small creek, it is, though a little, a thriving place; has abundance of barks, cutters, and fishing-boats, belonging to it; and, though nothing in comparison of what it once was, is, however, merely from the circumstance before-mentioned, in a much better condition than most of its neighbours (*w*). It was this that gave it a place here, as serving as the strongest instance of what we are labouring to establish, and proving beyond contradiction, that even the most inconsiderable port [for even the pier, raised almost within memory, by sir Basil Dixwell, in hopes of retrieving it, is destroyed] is of consequence, and may stop a place from dwindling into a village, as more than one of the Cinque ports have done, though Folkstone never had that honour, being only [as it is still] a member of the port of Dover (*x*), of which we are next to speak.

DUBRIS is the latin name bestowed, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, upon Dover, another of the Cinque ports, which the Saxons called Dofra, both very probably derived from the British word Dour, which signifies water (*y*). The convenience of its situation drew the attention of the Roman governours, who ruled here, while they possessed this part of the island; and there still remain indubitable testimonies of their care and respect for this important place (*z*). In order to the defence of which, either they, or, as some affirm, Arviragus, a British king, their confederate, by cutting out walls, with infinite labour, in the solid rock, constructed a stony fortress; and, as its venerable remains still prove, erected also a PHAROS, or light-house, for the benefit of navigation (*a*). The Saxons, Danes, and Normans, had a very high opinion of this place (*b*); and when the barons invited over that young prince, who was afterwards Lewis the eighth of France, under colour of delivering the people from the tyranny of king John, but, in reality, to establish their own, his father, Philip Augustus, conceived a bad opinion of the expedition; because, though in possession of a great part of the kingdom, the castle and port of Dover were

(*w*) Leland's Itinerary, in the appendix to vol. vii. p. 141. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 103. Harris's history of Kent, p. 124, 125, 126.—(*x*) Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque ports, p. 125. Brome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 296. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 123.—(*y*) Talboti Annotat. in Antonini Itiner. itin. iii. Lelandi Commentar. in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 49. Somner's Roman ports and forts i. Kent, p. 30. The learned and judicious Dean Gale, however, takes the Roman name to have been Dubræ, signifying between two hills, from the British words dwy, two, and Bre, or Bryn, an hill.—(*z*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 242. Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 49. Salmon's new survey of England, p. 19.—(*a*) Ex Chronico Dovarencis Monasterii, apud Lelandi collectan. tom. ii. p. 50. J. Ross's Historia Regum Angliæ, p. 45, 47. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 122.—(*b*) Eadmeri Historiæ novorum, lib. i. Liber Niger Scaccarii, p. 340. Simeon Dunelmensis Historia, A. D. 1066. Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. vol. i. p. 286. Walteri de Hemingford Hist. Edwardi I. p. 59. Annales de Dunstaple, A. D. 1295.

still held for king John, by Hubert de Burgh (*c*). In its most flourishing state, this impregnable fortress, and then opulent Emporium, had twenty-one wards, each of which furnished a ship for the public service, ten gates, seven parish-churches, many religious houses, hospitals, and other public edifices (*d*). The decay of the town was brought on by that of the harbour; to recover which, Henry the eighth, of all our monarchs the most attentive to things of this nature, spent no less than sixty-three thousand pounds in building of piers, and five thousand pounds more in constructing a castle between this place and Folkestone, called Sandgate, where the shore was flat, and the landing was easy (*e*). But, notwithstanding all the pains and expense thus employed for the succour of this port, it was, in a manner, choked up in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by whose provident care, however, it was once more, at a great charge, and with vast labour, so recovered, that ships of some hundred tons entered the port; and several acts were passed in that, and in the succeeding reign, for the amendment and support of this important Haven (*f*). Since that time it has again declined, notwithstanding many efforts made, more especially in the reigns of king Charles the second and of William the third, and great assistance given, from time to time, by the authority of parliament for its relief (*g*). But as the poor Haven, such as it is, remains still capable of receiving vessels of small burden, and as the packets to France and Flanders are stationed here in the time of peace, it is, though in the custom-house books but a member of the port of Sandwich, by much the place of most trade and business upon all this coast, and the people the most active and industrious, Deal, perhaps, only excepted. The town, in its present state, may be a mile in length. It has two parish-churches remaining; and the castle, so formidable in ancient days, being now become of little consequence, there are two block-houses for its defence (*h*): But both the fortress and the town retain their old honours; the former has its constable, and the latter its mayor, and other magistrates: And may they retain them! that these insignia

(*c*) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 119. Hen. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, apud x. Script. col. 2427. Lambard's historical and topographical Dictionary, p. 91, 92, 93.—(*d*) Pat. 17 Edw. II. P. i. m. 1. et P. ii. m. 28. Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 145. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, g. 78—85.—(*e*) Roberti Talboti Annotat. in Antonini Itiner. Brit. ubi supra. Lelandi Comment. in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 53. Lambard's historical and topographical Dictionary, p. 93. Some MSS. in the possession of the ancient family of Deering, compute the King's expense at eighty thousand pounds.—(*f*) Camdeni Britannia p. 243. Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 157. Kilburne's survey of the county of Kent, p. 85. In consequence of a representation, as there is some reason to believe, of Sir Walter Raleigh.—(*g*) Stat. 14 Car. II. cap. 27. Stat. 11 Gulielm. III. cap. 5. sect. 1. Stat. 2 Annæ, cap. 7. sect. 1. Stat. 9. Geo. I. cap. 30. sect. 1. Stat. 11 Geo. II. cap. 7. sect. 1. Stat. 31. Geo. II.—(*h*) Brome's travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 299, 300. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 207. Salmon's new survey of England, vol. i. p. 18, 19.

of former splendour may, some time or other, excite the legislature to make a thorough examination, whether it may not be still practicable to do something towards retrieving its ports; which, if it could be effected, the town of itself would rise again into consideration, from the excellence of its position, that gift of nature; the advantages of which, though they may be suspended, cannot be annihilated, even by the most supine neglect (*i*).

DEAL, which is supposed to be the Dola of Nenniús, lies between Dover and Sandwich, upon a flat level coast; and justifies the observation that has been before made in favour of such situations, that they are less liable to be injured by the sea; and, indeed, as far as we are able to judge, this is still, except it may be the sea's shrinking a little from it, in much the same condition it was, even in the earliest accounts we have of this place, though we have, perhaps, none earlier of any in this island (*k*). This is a member of Sandwich, as a Cinque port; and a member of the same place, considered as a port in the custom-house books (*l*). The great convenience of landing here, has been of infinite benefit to the place; so that it is very large and populous, divided into the upper and lower towns, adorned with many fair buildings, being in effect the principal place upon the downs; and, on that account, having, both in war and peace, a continual resort of people (*m*). Henry the eighth, for its protection, not only built a castle here, but also two others, one on the north, called Sandown castle, and another on the south, styled Walmer castle (*n*); so that, in all respects, it is the most flourishing place upon this coast, enjoys a very considerable portion of trade, and has, for the present, eclipsed the port to which it is a member (*o*).

SANDWICH, in the opinion of some, and those too of our greatest antiquaries, is thought to be the PORTUS RHUTUPINUS (called Portus Ritupis in the Itinerary) of the ancient Romans, and in their times the most celebrated port in Britain (*p*). But, though in effect the thing is really

(*i*) Jeakes's charters of the cinque ports, p. 110, 111. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 120—123. Harris's history of Kent, p. 100—105. 371. 374.—(*k*) The learned Dr. Halley has proved, Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 426, that Julius Cæsar landed here, August 26th, in the year before the coming of Christ 55. It appears Perkin Warbeck landed here, July 3. 1495. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 71. As did also the lady Anne of Cleves, when she came to marry Henry VIII. December 27th, 1540, Holingshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 948.—(*l*) Kilburne's survey of Kent, p. 71. Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 125. Crouch's View of the British Customs, p. 385.—(*m*) Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 25. 120. 125. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 119. Salmon's new survey of England, vol. i. p. 19.—(*n*) Lelandi Commentar. in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 49. Itinerary, vol. vii. in the Appendix, p. 127. Lambard's perambulation of Kent, p. 143, 144.—(*o*) Brome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 303. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 10. Harris's History of Kent, p. 95, 96.—(*p*) Antonini Itinerar. iter. ii. Ptolemæi Geograph. lib. viii. cap. 2. C. Taciti in Vita Agricola. Ammian. Marcel. Hist. lib. xx. cap. 1. P. Orosii Hist. lib. i. cap. 2.

so, yet one may, with more propriety, say, that Sandwich is all that is now left of the Roman port, than that it is the port. The farther this matter has been inquired into, the stricter the care with which it has been examined, and the closer it has been sifted, by the ablest critics, the plainer truth has gradually appeared (*q*). It grew evident, upon their first researches, that, in ancient times, when there were far better opportunities of coming at certainty, Richborough, or rather Ræfborough, or, as Beda calls it, Reptaceastre, and not Sandwich, was taken for Rhutupium (*r*). The very learned, sagacious, and indefatigable Somner, thought to settle this point, by separating the Roman fortress from the city; he allows that Richborough was the former, but maintains, that we are to look for the latter at Sandwich (*s*). Other able and diligent antiquaries, perceived that Richborough, though it is now, had not been always on the Kentish side of the Wantsume, and thence concluded, that it must have been once in the island of Thanet (*t*). On a yet deeper disquisition, it was conceived, from the ancient descriptions, there were certainly two places of this name; and, therefore, the ingenious and judicious Mr. Horsley chooses rather to call them Ritupiaë, or Rhutupiaë, than Rhutupium; in which he is justified by Ptolemy (*u*). All these inquiries tended finally to show, that this was, when the Romans possessed the country, and long after, a port of very great extent; and which must, consequently, have been very different from what Sandwich now is, or, indeed, ever was, since that very little part of the port, which is still left, received its denomination from that place (*w*). Upon comparing, therefore, all these passages together, and attending to the discoveries of a very diligent observer of the face of the country, to whose care we owe a philosophic chart of this part of Kent (*x*), we see pretty clearly how things must have stood in those remote times, and, of course, the condition of this port, which, as I formerly promised, I will now, though not without some apprehension of censure, do my best to explain (*y*).

(*q*) See Talbot's *Burton's*, and Gale's *Commentaries on the Itinerary*. Consult Lambard and Camden, as also Somner, Gibson, and Plot; but, above all, the ingenious, elegant, and learned *Antiquitates Rutupinae* of the late Dr. John Battely, archdeacon of Canterbury, where every point is discussed with equal perspicuity and erudition.—(*r*) Bedæ *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1*. Alured. *Beverl. Annales, lib. i*. Lambard's *historical and topographical Dictionary*, p. 287.—(*s*) In his discourse on the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent, p. 4. 87. But Orosius assures us, the city, fortress, and port, were all together.—(*t*) Lelandi *Genethiacaon Eadverdi Principis*, p. 38. Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 111.—(*u*) I submit to the judicious reader's judgment, whether, for the sake of perspicuity, the city and fortress at the one extremity should not be styled Rhutupium; that at the other Regulbium; the haven, *Portus Rhutupinus*, or Rhutupiaë, as lying between these forts, and the whole extent of the shore, *Littus Rhutupinum*, the Rhutupian coast.—(*w*) It was for this reason, that Twine places it at Dover; Talbot, and others, at Stonar; and some foreign geographers at Canterbury, and even at Rochester.—(*x*) Dr. Packe's *Ancography*, or explanation of his philosophical chart of east Kent, p. 44.—(*y*) *Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 153.

THANET, which is scarce at this day a Península, was formerly a complete island, and nearly, as I take it, of a circular figure (z). In the time of the Romans, the sea on the south-west side of the island, between that and the main land of Kent, was at least four miles broad, and gradually decreasing as it passed along the south side of the island, became at length less than two miles, and at Sarr, which was the narrowest part, might be about a mile and an half. Thus far flowed the south, which there met the North sea: That entered at what was from thence styled Normutha, that is North mouth, where remains of every kind, bricks, domestic utensils, coins, &c. plainly show there was a Roman station, not at all inferiour in splendour to the other at Ritupium; and to cover this city, as well as to defend the entrance of the safest and most important port then in the island, they constructed on a rising ground a strong and noble fortress, which was called Regulbium, by the Saxons Raculfcester, now Reculver (a). At the opposite entrance, on the south-west side of Thanet, in a small island, which these buildings almost entirely occupied, stood the city and fortress of Ritupium, which is now, with some indelible characters of ancient strength and lustre, styled Richborough (b). This, as it gives a satisfactory view of a deep, secure, and extensive harbour, shows why those stations and fortresses were erected at each extremity, accounts for their being named Ritupiæ, and affords us a just idea of the wise policy and admirable contrivance of the Romans, to render this province of Cantium rich and well peopled, by making this commodious Haven and its Emporia the centre of commerce between Britain and the countries round it.

It would be no difficult task, if both the external and internal characters of veracity were less apparent, to maintain all that has been advanced from the most authentic writers. We have the testimony of an unexceptionable author, that through this port lay the direct and accustomed passage to London by sea, beyond the middle of the fourth century (c). It remained in its natural and perfect state, so long as the Romans enjoyed Britain, and no doubt for some time after. But in Beda's time, and perhaps an age before that, the port began to decline by diminishing its breadth: For he tells us that it was then but three furlongs wide, fordable in two

(z) Artemidorus, apud Strabonis Geograph. lib. iv. p. 198. C. J. Solini Polyhistor. cap. xxv. Ammian. Marcel. lib. 18. cap. 2.—(a) We find no mention made of Regulbium, either in Antoninus's Itinerary, or in Ptolemy, but in the Notitia it occurs; and we are told the tribune of the first cohort of the Vetastians, or Betastians was posted there; from whence the judicious Batteley infers, that at first both the Roman stations bore the same name [Rutupiæ], and that under Theodosius this was called Regulbium.—(b) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. i. xxvi. Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 138. Lambard's historical and topographical Dictionary, p. 287. In an old charter it is called Risburg.—(c) Ammiani Marcellini Hist. lib. xx. cap. i. where he mentions Lupicinus sailing through this Strait to London. See also lib. xxvii. cap. vii.

places, and was called Wantsume, or the deficient water (*d*). It continued however a passable strait, for ships of some burden, till about the Norman conquest (*e*); a little after which what had been already begun was prosecuted with diligence. For, as we are told, when it was once perceived that the tides no longer flowed with any considerable vigour, so that this element, which is naturally irresistible, seemed less able to keep what it yet retained of its ancient possessions, the inhabitants on both sides began to dyke out the sea, so that gradually they brought on those great changes which now appear (*f*). The stream that originally ran into the arm of the North sea, which divided Thanet from the continent, runs now, which shows in some measure the breadth of the old channel, a mile and a half east of Reculver, while the Stour makes its way into the south sea at Sandwich (*g*). The distance between these two streams is something better than a mile; which Isthmus however is cut by an artificial current of water, called the Mile-stream, over which there is a bridge in the road to Sarr; so that the isle of Thanet, which was formerly separated from the continent, by the entire channel of the old Portus Rhutupinus, or Ritupensis, and was then, as in its natural state, all high land, is now a Peninsula, or at best a river isle only, with the Stour-Wantsume on the south, the Mile-stream on the south-west, and the Nethergong-Wantsume on the west (*h*). The rest of the island looks to the east and north seas as heretofore; but the figure (for which the reason will be hereafter given) is altered from a circular to an irregular oval; which circumstance, as we shall likewise shew, is a very strong confirmation of the reality of that opinion which is here advanced.

It is very possible that an inquisitive and judicious reader may expect something more distinct and particular, as to the precise time when, and the manner in which, this famous port was thus ruined and lost (*i*): But in tracing these points I cannot pretend to the same certainty as with regard to the general facts already mentioned, which I think too well sup-

(*d*) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. i. cap. xxvi. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 97. Lewis's history and antiquities of the isle of Thanet, or Tenet, p. 27.—(*e*) It was several times passed by the Danes; and, as we learn from the Saxon Chronicle, p. 137. was also passed by earl Goodwin, A. D. 1052, with a numerous squadron, and, for those days, large ships likewise.—(*f*) Sir Thomas Moore's Dialogues, fol. 119. a. Edit. 1559. Sir William Dugdale's history of Imbanking and Draining, cap. xii. Lewis's history and antiquities of the isle of Tenet, p. 5.—(*g*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 264. Dr. Philemon Holland's translation of the Britannia. Kilburne's survey of Kent, p. 369.—(*h*) Harris's history of Kent, p. 313, 314. Lewis's history and antiquities of the isle of Tenet, p. 5. Dr. Packe's anecdotography, or description of his Chart of East-Kent, p. 13.—(*i*) It is observed by our most industrious and intelligent Antiquaries, that the Roman road [which certainly once led to the port] is no longer to be traced; which is easily accounted for, now we know the city, fortress, and port, were in an island: And this too removes the objection as to distance.

ported to admit of any controversy. However I will speak my private sentiment, and leave it either to be confirmed or refuted by some abler pen (*k*). It seems then very probable to me, that the first encroachments were made by the monks or other ecclesiastics, to whom, as I take it, both the Ritupixæ were given by the kings of Kent; and they having, at least in those days, no notion of trade, but being great improvers of land, thought every addition of this nature a mighty acquisition (*l*). The Saxons had probably destroyed the Roman fortress, though not the city of Ritupium, during their wars with the Britons; and I apprehend the first step taken of this kind, was the annexing the island upon which it stood to the continent of Kent (*m*). This was actually accomplished before Beda's time, for he does not seem so much as to have heard that it ever was an island (*n*). I will here take the liberty of mentioning a suspicion of my own; which is this, that even our ablest antiquaries are mistaken, in supposing that the ancient Britons gave the name of Innis Ruym to the island of Thanet, and this for the very reason they assign in support of their opinion, that it referred to the Roman port of Rutupium; whereas it seems much more likely, that this appellation belonged to the little island on which that city stood, and not to the island of Thanet, upon which it never stood at all (*o*).

AFTER the junction of the isle to Kent, the sea no longer flowing with the same freedom, began to throw up immense quantities of Beach on the opposite side, which produced Stonar, more properly Estanore, that is, the East Stone shore, originally an isle by itself, but quickly united by the monks, who made a causeway for that purpose to the isle of Thanet (*p*). Here there was a very conspicuous town, though now there is only a farm house; and a kind of port, about which, in later times, there were great disputes between the inhabitants of Sandwich and the abbots of St. Austin in Canterbury, the former claiming it as dependent upon their port, and the latter as belonging to them in vir-

(*k*) According to some authors, the Roman road lay through, or very near, the town of Woodensborough, now Winsbury, where many coins and other remains, indubitably Roman, have been found; and thence proceeding to the sea-side, to the port where the ships rode, was exactly twelve miles, agreeable to the Itinerary.—(*l*) *Monasticon Anglican.* tom. i. p. 21, 86. *Evident. Eccles. Christi Cant.* inter x. Script. p. 2207, 2220. *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*, p. 97.—(*m*) Our most intelligent Antiquaries think the Saxons on their first infesting this coast destroyed this city and fortress; but others ascribe, and I apprehend with more probability, the destruction of the former to the Danes: The demolishing the castle might be necessary to conquerors, the plundering the city most likely to be done by pirates.—(*n*) It probably was still an island when Augustine a Monk came hither, but was connected to the continent before Beda's time, and belonged to the see of Canterbury.—(*o*) *Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia*, inter x. script. col. 120. Innis Ruym, or Ruim, seems to be the Roman island, tho' it must be allowed the word is differently written.—(*p*) Lewis's history of the isle of Thanet, p. 132, 133. Our judicious antiquary Talbot sets down Stonar for the Roman port, and Dr. Stukeley is of the same opinion; but Lewis, and all who are well acquainted with the place, agree as to the point stated in the text.

ture of royal grants (*q*). This warm contest is commonly said to have been between the citizens of London and the abbots of St. Austin, but that arises from the denomination that Sandwich once had of Londonwic (*r*); because while the Rutupian road remained in a tolerable degree free and open, it was the constant station, as the Downs now is, of the shipping belonging to the port of London, then, as at present, the greatest trading city in this island.

AFTER all, Sandwich, though at the distance of a long series of years, came in the place of Rutupium; that is, when the Roman city was destroyed, and the port of Ebbesfleet, properly Wippedsfleet, on the side of Thanet began to fill up, a new town was necessarily built on the continent, and the correspondence which had so long subsisted between the old port and the opposite coast was gradually transferred thither (*s*). But that Sandwich, though it came thus in the place, could never be the Roman Rutupium, will appear from a few short remarks. It does not answer the description given of that place by ancient historians. It stands low, in an unhealthy situation, which no Roman city ever did. There have been no coins, or other relics of antiquity, found in or near it. Lastly, the name is plainly Saxon, and shows that the coast was exposed to drifts of sand when this place was built (*t*). It is impossible to fix the date of its foundation but about the middle of the ninth century, Athelstan king of Kent beat a Danish fleet here; and from that period to the Norman conquest it was reputed the best port in England; for till then, and a considerable time after, the passage, though much diminished in breadth, was open (*u*); since we find that earl Goodwin, after ravaging the coast of Suffex, sailed behind the isle of Thanet and came up the Thames (*w*).

(*q*) Chron. W. Thorn. inter x. Script. col. 1794, 1889, 1933, 2130, 2143. Lewis's history and antiquities of the isle of Tenet, p. 133,—139. Harris's history of Kent, p. 299.—(*r*) The learned and judicious Somner, in his discourse on the Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 9. clearly proves that Sandwich [or it may be Richborough] had the name of Lunden-wic, i. e. the port of London, being so styled in the laws of Lothair king of Kent. My notion, pardon me reader for mentioning it, is this, That the Londoners acquired Richborough, which from thence was called Lunden-wic, in opposition to which the village on the adjacent shore was, from its situation, called Sand-wic; and that the former decaying, the latter came in its room.—(*s*) Lelandi Genethliacon Eadverdi Principis, p. 37, 38. u Lambard's historical and topographical Dictionary, p. 332, 333. Batteley Antiq. Rutupinæ, p. 9, 16.—(*t*) Vitruvii Architect. i. 4. Camdeni Britannia, p. 240. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 117, 118.—(*u*) Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia, inter x. Script. col. 122. Encomium Emmæ, inter Scriptores Historie Normanicæ, p. 168. Florent. Vigorn. ad A. D. 1009.—(*w*) Chron. Saxon. p. 167, 4. Chron. J. Bromton, inter x. Script. col. 943. Aluredi Beveriacensis Annales, p. 59.

KING Knute, or Canutus, gave this town and port by a very memorable charter to the monastery of christ-church in Canterbury (x). In the reign of Edward the confessor, as we find in domesday-book, there were in this borough three hundred and seven houses. In king John's time it was burned by Lewis of France. Edward the first, to restore the place, removed the Staple thither, and acquired the best part of it from the monks (y). His grandson Edward the third completed the exchange, and recovered this town from them entirely, for the Manor of Borly in Essex (z). The wars with France in that and in the succeeding reigns, particularly those of Henry the fifth, contributed very much to the benefit of the place, and to enriching its inhabitants. In the reign of Henry the sixth it had a very flourishing trade, so that the customs amounted to between fifteen and twenty thousand pounds per annum; and in the next reign it had ninety-five ships, and upwards of fifteen hundred seamen (a): But not long after it began to decay. Leland tells us, that a great ship belonging to pope Paul the third, being lost in the harbour, in the reign of Henry the eighth, a bank came in the place, by the gradual accession of Sands (b); and since that time it has been continually growing worse and worse, notwithstanding all the endeavours that have been used for its recovery (c), and notwithstanding the Flemings, who settled here in the reign of queen Elizabeth, not only set up a manufactory, but also taught the inhabitants several methods of improving their land, particularly by the cultivation of carrots, and other vegetables, in high perfection; on account of which Sandwich has been long celebrated (d). It retains, however, the honour of being one of the Cinque ports, and is still the only legal port in this county, with a custom-house, and proper officers; though in all other respects, but the shadow of what it was (e).

(x) *Textus Roffensis*, p. 37. *Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. inter x Script.* col. 2225, 2226. *Monast. Angelican.* tom. i. p. 21.—(y) *Kilburne's Survey of Kent*, p. 238. Our kings often exchanged lands in this manner, in order to recover their ports out of the hands of the Monks.—(z) *Lambard's Perambulation of Kent*, p. 130. *Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower*, p. 157. *Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports*, p. 110. 111.—(a) *Cotton's Abridgment*, p. 650. 659. *Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports*, p. 111. *Harris's history of Kent*, p. 273.—(b) *Itinerary*, vol. vii. p. 127. *Camdeni Britannia*, p. 241. *Harris's history of Kent*, p. 273.—(c) *Stat. 22 Geo. II.* p. 827. for establishing an Haven at Ramsgate, in the Isle of Thanet, gives two hundred pounds per annum out of the duties granted by that act for the support of Sandwich haven, and empowers the commissioners to raise ten thousand pounds, if they should judge it possible to recover that port.—(d) *Hartlib's Legacy*, p. 90. *Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, vol. ii. p. 461. *Mortimer's Husbandry*, vol. i. p. 201. *Brome's Travels*, p. 304. *Harris's history of Kent*, p. 273.—(e) *Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia*. *Molloy de Jure maritimo et navali*, p. 328. *Crouch's complete View of the British customs*, p. 385.

AMONG the members belonging to Sandwich, as a Cinque port, where Fordwich, Sarre, and Reculver. A few remarks, in regard to each of these, will contribute to set this whole matter in a clearer light. Fordwich stands two miles and a half north-east from Canterbury, upon the river Stour. It is a very old, and was formerly a very considerable place. Eadbert, king of Kent, granted it, A. D. 747, to the monastery of St. Austin in Canterbury, which grant was afterwards confirmed by Edward the confessor (*f*). In domesday we find it called the little Burgh of Fordwich. There is reason to think it was once much nearer the sea; and very probably the Portus Trutulensis was that part of this large Haven, where the Stour entered it, and derived its name from those excellent trouts, for which this place yet continues famous (*g*). Barges, lighters, and other small craft, still come up hither from Sandwich. Sarre, though now the great highway from Canterbury into Thanet runs through it directly, was once a flourishing place, lying in the middle of this noble road, and consequently a port; of which there is not barely credible tradition, authenticated in the last age, from the mouths of competent witnesses, who had themselves seen not only boats, but even barks of a tolerable size, pass quite through the North mouth: But both here and in other places in Thanet are visible marks remaining, of the little creeks and havens, in which vessels formerly lay; and their ancient charters prove this, beyond the power of doubting, as to its certainty (*h*). Reculver, the Regulbium of the Notitia, seems to have stood originally in an island surrounded by the Yenlade. Ethelred retired hither, when he gave his own palace at Canterbury to Augustin, whence it came to be called Reculcester; but being granted to the monks, who built a convent there, it then took the name of Reculminster. It is at present joined to Kent, without any sign of its having been ever separated, and is divided from Thanet only by a little brook, which falls into the sea in that island (*i*). Thus we plainly discern how, though not exactly when, these singular changes were brought to pass, and with what view; the true sense in which Sandwich Haven is said to be that of Rutupium; whence these several places, once members of this Cinque port, are all decayed, and some lost; also what the present condition is of the two Rutupiæ; and by what means land now lies where once was sea between them.

(*f*) Chron. W. Thorn, inter x Script. col. 1777, 1940, 1941, 2138, 2211. Camdeni Britannia, p. 239. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 105.—(*g*) Tacitus in Vita Agricola. Camdeni Britannia, p. 239, 240. Antiquit. Rutup. p. 20.—(*h*) Annal. Monaster. Sti Augustin. MS. fol. 29. Joannis Twini de Rebus Albionis Commentar. p. 25, 27. Lewis's Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet, p. 27, 29, 49.—(*i*) Chron. Saxon. p. 40. 21. Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. inter x Scriptor. col. 2207. 2211. 2220. Twini de Rebus Albionis Comment. p. 26, 27. Somner's Discourse on Roman Ports and Forts in Kent, p. 77, 87. Antiquit. Rutup. p. 39, 40, 41. It is remarkable, as if retaining something of the Rutupiæ, this place, by the people of Kent, is always called in the plural number, the Reculvers.

WE have before observed, that the CINQUE PORTS, or as we find them very frequently called simply, THE PORTS, by way of excellence, seem to have been copied from the Roman institution; and though there is now no charter extant, earlier than the reign of Edward the first, yet in that there is mention made of immunities granted them by William the conquerour; and the customs of particular places extend still higher, which show they are derived from immemorial prescription (*k*). The five ports are HASTINGS, NEW ROMNEY, HITHE, DOVER, and SANDWICH. The two additional towns, RYE and WINCHELSEA. Each of these head-ports had several members, the inhabitants of which participated of their privileges, and bore a share in their expenses (*l*). They were bound, in lieu of all other services, to exert their naval force, for maintaining and protecting the free navigation of the channel, by preventing piracies, and all impediments or interruptions thereto. They were, amongst them, to furnish fifty-seven ships, every ship to be manned with twenty men and a boy, at their own costs, for the space of fifteen days, and so long after as the king should please to appoint; but then they were to be in his pay (*m*).

THE honours, privileges, and prerogatives granted to them, in consideration of these services, were many and great. Amongst others, they were each of them to send two barons to represent them in parliament; were, by their deputies, to bear the canopy over the king's head at his coronation, and to dine at the uppermost table, in the great hall, on his right hand; to be exempted from subsidies, and other aids; their heirs to be free from personal wardship, notwithstanding any tenure; to be impleaded in their own towns, and not elsewhere; to hold pleas and actions real and personal; to have conusance of fines; to have the power of enfranchising of villeins; not to be liable to tolls, and to have a full liberty of buying and selling; to appoint their bailiff to have jurisdiction with the magistrates of Yarmouth, during the fishing fair; and many others of less importance (*n*).

IT was to direct and enforce the due performance of these important services, and to superintend the punctual preservation of these extraordinary privileges, that the constable of Dover castle, styled also lord Warden, chancellor, and admiral of the Cinque ports, was appointed; which high office has been sometimes executed by the heirs apparent of

(*k*) Bracton, lib. iii. cap. 2. Fleta, lib. ii. cap. 55. Hen. de Knighton, inter x Scriptor. col. 2424.—(*l*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 127. Lambard's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 282. Coke's Institutes, b. iv. chap. 42.—(*m*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 114. Camdeni Britannia, p. 230, 231. Hen. Spelman's Glossarium, p. 476.—(*n*) 9 Hen. III. Magn. Chart. cap. ix. Lib. Intra Tit. Challing, fol. 1156. Trin. Status et Visus Compotorum, 3 Hen. IV. rot. 7. b.

the crown, often by princes of the royal blood, and always by persons of the first rank in the kingdom (*o*). In consequence of this establishment, the ships of these, in conjunction with those of other ports, were the navy of the realm; and, as our histories show, in almost every reign, discharged this trust with great honour and reputation: Neither were the Cinque ports restrained to the number of vessels before-mentioned, but have sometimes fitted out double the number; and, when larger ships were thought necessary, have equipped fewer of these, at an expense equivalent to that which their services by tenure would have occasioned (*p*). At the close of queen Elizabeth's reign they had five ships, of one hundred and sixty tons each, at sea for five months, at their own charges; and in the beginning of the reign of Charles the first, they fitted out two large ships, which served for two months, and cost them upwards of eighteen hundred pounds (*q*).

As we have thus shown what their force once was, let us now examine the causes that have been assigned for their decay. The first is, the failing of their respective Havens, some by the desertion, some by the impetuosity, and some by the beach thrown out of the sea (*r*); as to which we have already said somewhat, and shall hereafter say more. In the next place, the change in the navy is alleged, and with good reason. While the ports were entrusted with the sea force of England, they were well enabled to build and maintain many stout ships, according to the notions of those days, from the certainty of their being taken into the pay of the crown in time of war, which, instead of impoverishing, served to enrich them, almost as much as trade, in time of peace; and was likewise, while such a method of maintaining a naval strength was adequate to the wants of the public, advantageous also to the nation (*s*). The third cause of their sinking, was from the invasion of their privileges in respect to trade, not by laying them open for common good, but by transferring them to others. First, in regard to foreign commerce, the charter granted by James the first to the merchant-adventurers, excluded them from trading to Germany and the low countries, which was the principal source of their wealth; and by their long intercourse with the inhabitants, they had procured to themselves advantages and immunities, which, by this interruption of their correspon-

(*o*) See the Catalogues of the lords Wardens, in Lambard, Jeake, and Harris.—(*p*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 122, where the reader will find a summary account, from our most authentic historians, of the great actions performed by the fleets of the ports.—(*q*) Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 29, where many other curious particulars relating to this subject are to be met with.—(*r*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 112. 145. 176. Camdeni Britannia, p. 240. 243. 246. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 104. 144. 233.—(*s*) These ships were to be equipped at any time, upon forty days notice; their pay, when in the king's service, was ascertained, the crown might dismiss them when they pleased, their pay then ceased, and no expense was incurred in time of peace.

dence, were lost (*t*). Next, in reference to their common transactions in domestic trade. The citizens of London, though the charter of the Cinque ports be near an hundred years older than theirs, disputed their right of buying and selling freely their cloths in Blackwell-Hall, and in the close prevailed (*u*). This induced the manufacturers and the masters of trading vessels to remove, and of course the merchants followed them; and being thus unhappily stripped of those advantages, whence arose their opulence and splendour in former ages, it is no great wonder that even the traces of both are almost worn out in ours (*w*). But though the wonder is not great, yet we cannot say the same as to the loss, which certainly is much to be regretted.

THE discovering some acquaintance with the antiquities of this county, the recalling some forgotten truths to remembrance, or bringing some memorial of the importance, grandeur, and decline, of the Cinque ports, to the public view, though very laudable endeavours in themselves, were not the motives of my entering so deep into, or dwelling so long upon, this subject. My true design is, to place in a proper light, what I take to be the strongest instance that can be produced in support of the general doctrine this chapter is intended to establish. As high in point of time as we have any lights from authentic history, this territory was the principal seat of our foreign commerce. For in this, by the clearest evidence, we have shown the Romans had a conveniency we have lost, an Haven between Kent and Thanet, which, all circumstances considered, of situation, size, and safety, may be perhaps affirmed superiour to any we have left (*x*). Besides this, they had also several other good ports, which they fortified, secured, and preserved, that are now some totally gone, others become very inconsiderable, all mightily impaired. We have no direct or positive proofs, indeed, of their carrying on a lucrative trade; but the probability of this is so strong, that it cannot be doubted.

FOR as they made their first impression, so they extended their dominion in this island, by their naval force; and we know that could only be sustained by commerce. In this, it is most likely, those immense sums were employed, which Seneca is reputed to have lent at

(*t*) This monopoly was censured as such in parliament, in the twenty-third year of the same reign, upon which the trade was laid open. In the next reign the company prevailed again, and the long parliament, for the sake of a loan, confirmed them.—(*u*) Additions to the English Translation of Camden's Britannia. Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 9, 10, 11. Harris's History of Kent, p. 481.—(*w*) See all the modern descriptions, consider the many laws made for the recovery of their havens, the reasons assigned for obtaining the assistance of the legislature for making a new harbour at Ramsgate; and the importance of the subject will justify these reflections. (*x*) It appears, from indubitable testimony, that the Rutupian port was land locked on both sides, open both to the North and South, full seven miles in extent, with inlets and convenient creeks on both sides.

Interest. Carausius and Allectus held the title of emperours ten years, from the power given them by the maritime force of Britain (*y*). After this, we find the same people raising fortresses to cover the ports, on this coast especially, from the piracies of the northern nations, and putting into them competent garrisons for their defence, in case they proceeded to make any descents; which are strong indications of their having a rich, well-cultivated country to protect: And we can conceive no means of its becoming so, but from the traffick of its inhabitants, the natural source of wealth and prosperity to such people as are seated in an island. Our Saxon ancestors, who were the next possessors of this region, while all its ports were open and in good condition, adopted the same maxims, and pursued them with such effect, that Ethelbert, king of Kent, extended his dominions from the banks of the Thames to those of the Humber (*z*). Himself and his successors founded, or at least bestowed names on, many great towns, adorned them with stately structures, leaving such a variety of monuments of prudence, piety, and policy, as incontestably prove their subjects must have been numerous, industrious, and opulent. After the Danish wars, felt no-where more severely than in this county (*a*), when the Normans came to be quietly settled, the people of Kent, retaining their original liberties, their ancient customs, and their acquired trade, made a great figure. The woollen manufacture, being once introduced, throve exceedingly, and spread itself amongst them on every side. By this, Cranbrook, Ashford, Sevenoak, Sittingbourn, and many other places, were rendered conspicuous. But above all Canterbury, which from this, and various other funds of industry, maintained its ancient splendour, having a guild of merchants, a staple, mint, exchange, and many spacious and beautiful markets (*b*). The Cinque Ports, enjoying their privileges, were well built, fully inhabited, drove an extensive commerce, abounded with seamen, had many, and, for that age, stout and large ships in constant employment (*c*). Thus agriculture, handicrafts and trade, being equally and every where diffused, mutually supported each other; and the people, numerous, active, and indefatigable, kept up a spirit of emulation, from which all parts of the county were in the same flourishing condition.

(*y*) Xiphilin in Nerone. Dig. de lege Rhodia, leg. ix. tit. 2. lib. xiv. Eutropii Hist. Rom. Breviar. lib. ix. cap. 14.—(*z*) Chron. Saxon. p. 23, 24. Bedæ Eccl. Gent. Anglor. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 5. Chron. Johan. Bromton, inter x Script. col. 729.—(*a*) Chron. Saxon. p. 56. 140. Alured, Beverlac. Annal. lib. viii. p. 56. Hen. Huntingdon Hist. lib. vi. p. 361.—(*b*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 137. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 290. 317. Somner's history of Canterbury, p. 121. 123. 133. 147. 209.—(*c*) These remarks are not to be understood as commendations of the Norman government, which certainly had no higher merit than allowing the men of Kent to pursue their old way of living, and to make use of those advantages providence had bestowed upon them.

WE have no distinct account of the time when the first attempts were made to gain upon that æstuary, into which the river Rother, anciently called Limene, discharged itself into the sea, between Lyd and Romney (*d*). But, as there were marshes there in the time of the Saxons, we have good grounds to believe, that the practice of inning, that is, wresting land from the river and the sea, was introduced by their clergy, to whom the property in these parts chiefly belonged (*e*). By these means they at length drove the river into another channel, and built a strong fence, called the Ree, i.e. the River Bank, to keep it from ever returning. The archbishops of Canterbury, looking upon this as an admirable method of improving, left their names to those parcels of the marsh which were procured in their times, whence we read of Becket's, Baldwin's, Boniface's, Peckham's Innings (*f*); so that gradually this tract of level ground swelled to an immense extent, and, taken altogether, has been computed at upwards of fifty thousand acres; all become, in a long course of time, from dreary, sickly marshes, very fine and fruitful meads, affording excellent pasture, and of course yielding an high rent (*g*). But notwithstanding this, and though it must be acknowledged the greatest acquisition of its kind, and under the best regulations, yet one may reasonably question whether the county of Kent has really reaped from thence those advantages that are commonly believed? For to say nothing of the labour these stupendous banks, drains, guts, &c. have originally cost; the vast expense which the making and keeping them in repair constantly demands; the hazard in preserving that always attends them; the losses to which they have been often exposed; and the unwholesomeness of the air, much greater formerly than at present; we will consider what has been absolutely given up, in order to secure this mighty conquest (*h*).

BEFORE any of these invasions were made, there seems to have been no contention whatever between the sea and the shore. But when once they encroached on that turbulent element, or, to speak with greater propriety, disturbed the settled order of nature, they soon felt the effects, if we may

(*d*) Chron. Saxon. p. 91. 93. 97. Mentioned likewise in many ancient charters, which clearly prove its course, and fall into the sea, in this county. (*e*) See Somner's discourse concerning Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 43, where he produces a charter of Marsh-Land by Plegmund, who was archbishop of Canterbury, from A. D. 889, to 915.—(*f*) Liber Eccles. Centuar. where it appears, that Appledore Marsh was gained A. D. 1349, at the expense of three hundred and fifty pounds. This is also evident from various other passages in Thorne's Evidences of the Church of Canterbury. See likewise Somner's Discourse of Roman Ports and Forts in Kent, p. 63.—(*g*) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 199. Sir William Dugdale's History of Draining and Imbanking, chap. xi. Harris's History of Kent, p. 348.—(*h*) Joan. Twini de Rebus Albionis Comment. lib. i. p. 31. Kilburne's Survey of the county of Kent, p. 231. 364. Brong's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 284, 285.

to speak, of its impetuous resentment. Sometimes it retired from where they meant it should remain; at others it overflowed, and washed away places grown opulent by its bounty. Here it fretted the shore, till it fell in; there it threw up beach and sand, till a new soil was formed, that was equally disagreeable and useless (*i*). In short, from being the source of industry and plenty, it grew dangerous and destructive. Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Hithe, and Romney, with their dependencies, are, in a manner, totally gone. The second of these places has been twice ruined, being once overwhelmed by the fury of those waves, by which it is now absolutely deserted. The present Winchelsea, raised by the wealthy inhabitants of the old town, or rather its remains, appeared so majestic, even in that state of decay, to queen Elizabeth, who saw it not till in this condition, that she could not help calling it, **LITTLE LONDON** (*k*). These once large, well-built, and well-peopled towns, have been brought into their present piteous plight, by this contest between those obstinate improvers and this boisterous element (*l*). In the course of the dispute, though the multitude were for inning, yet some more prudent persons saw and protested against its consequences; which is the true sense of the old saying, "that **TENTERDEN STEEPLE** was the occasion of **GOODWIN SANDS** (*m*);" that is, the rents of Romney Marsh, which were partly laid out on that structure, arose from those encroachments, which produced an inundation about the time the steeple was erected; soon after which, a vast tract in the Low Countries being swallowed up, those sands first appeared. These, hideous and horrid as they are, prove the great defence of the Downs; and, in conjunction with the South and North Foreland, render them a tolerable road, though sometimes, through the ignorance and carelessness of pilots, more frequently from the fury of South-east or east-north-east winds, ships are driven, and of course wrecked, upon them (*n*); which makes some safe port in their neighbourhood so de-

(*i*) Where these stones are cast up by the sea, on the coasts of Kent and Sussex, there is an horse road, but very uneasy travelling; and this accession, (if it can be so called,) is altogether useless.—(*k*) Jeakes's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 115. The queen made this tour into Sussex, A. D. 1573; and as the grandeur of this Winchelsea lay in its being built exactly on the model of the old town, it remains a proof of its wealth and magnificence.—(*l*) It is a material and indeed a decisive proof, in regard to what is asserted in the text, that these storms, inundations, and retirings of the sea, happened precisely within the period in which these innings were made.—(*m*) Sir Thomas Moore's Dialogues, fol. 119. a. Edit. 1592. Sandys's Notes on his English Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, book xiii. p. 282. Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 263, where the storm is fixed to November 3d, 1099; but the Saxon Chronicle places it on the 11th of the same month.—(*n*) In the London Gazette, No. 3971, there is an account, that, in the storm of Nov. 27th, 1703, the Stirling castle, Restoration, Northumberland, and Mary, on board which was rear admiral Beaumont, were lost upon the Goodwin Sands, when upwards of eleven hundred seamen perished.

firable, and the loss of those we had on both sides heretofore so much to be regretted.

IN respect to that arm of the sea which divided Kent from Thanet, now turned into firm land, the Abbots wall, which formerly kept out the flood, the old charters, and subsequent tenures, clearly show when, how, and by whom, this supposed improvement was begun, continued, and completed. Besides the constant tradition, and the apparent marks of its once different condition, put all this out of doubt, and, which is more to the purpose, show that it was not the declining or deserting of the sea, but the continued efforts of men, from the close of the sixth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, using all their skill to expel it, which produced this amazing change. But here again the question is, what has been got by this alteration, contrived with so much deliberation, and prosecuted with such application? The Fens, or the Salts as they are called, are esteemed unwholesome, though very fertile; but, since the loss of their channel, towns are dwindled to villages, some villages to a lonely farm-house, several churches are decayed, others disused, the number of people diminished, and of the many families of gentlemen who formerly resided in this island, and were both the credit and support of it, there is hardly one left (*o*). What is yet stronger and stranger, the very end aimed at, so difficult, or rather so imprudent a thing it is to contend with nature by force, is by no means accomplished. The island, in the time of Beda, as is expressly delivered in his writings, was twice as big as at present, which ancient deeds clearly confirm; and, which is no less extraordinary, from Domesday-book it appears, Thanet was then of near the same size that it is now (*p*). It is therefore incontestable, that precisely in the same period, when the inhabitants of both the continent and isle were busied in making what they thought improvements, by encroaching on the Wantsume on the south and west, the sea was silently and effectually making double reprisals, and spoiling all their ports on the North and East (*q*).

BESIDES all this, in reference to the island, consider the consequences which this converting so capacious a port into a marsh has had upon the coasts of Kent. In the original and genuine state of things, the South Sea, in respect to Thanet,

(*o*) Lewis's History and Antiquities of the Island of Tenet, p. 3. Harris's History of Kent, p. 314. Additions to Camden's Britannia.—(*p*) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. i. cap. 25. He says Thanet contained six hundred families, that is, as the Saxon Version of Bede explains it, so many hides of land. Mr. Lewis, taking sixty-four acres for a hide, computes the whole at thirty-eight thousand four hundred acres, which he affirms is double the quantity they have at present. But there are good authorities for computing a hide at an hundred acres, or even an hundred and twenty.—(*q*) The general tradition of the inhabitants confirms this; and not tradition only, but their own experience, the Isle suffering yearly more or less from the violence of the wind and sea.

flowed round the isle of Richborough up to Sarre, as the north sea round Regulbium to Sarre likewise; and then all the Creeks and Inlets on this side were in the best condition possible (*r*). But as Romney Marsh was gained by choking the Æstuary on one side, at the very time they were innig this channel on the other, the motion of the water, thus violently crossed, and forced into an unnatural, impetuous, and contracted state, tore away the chalk and lesser rocks in some places, and threw them up again in others, whence came the new isle of Stonar, united by the monks to Thanet; the beach all the way from Sandwich to Deal; and the mischiefs, which have happened both to Sandwich and to Dover (*s*); with all the distressing circumstances which have hitherto defeated every attempt to repair them; and which, it is more than probable, will continue to have the same effect, in spite of any weight of back-water which can be brought to scour their channels, which, it seems, can only be done by the force of the sea itself, or the strength of the ebb, which, before these encroachments, it is evident sufficiently answered that purpose, and would have always answered it, but for these impediments (*t*).

THIS deduction of facts and reasoning, made with all the care and attention possible, seems to prove, that the benefits arising from a maritime situation, are in reality such as I have represented them; that is, they are of all others most capable of producing a territory well cultivated, and fully peopled; consequently are the natural sources of strength, opulence, and grandeur. It seems also to follow, that their loss can never be compensated by an addition of territory, however rich or fertile; because, though this may prove a means of obtaining wealth, it may do this without exciting industry; and whenever that happens, how much soever individuals thrive, society must necessarily suffer (*u*). It is, as has been before observed, the conjunction of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that render the people in any country powerful. As an evidence of this let us observe, that in A.D. 1293, in the reign of Edward I. the fleet of the Cinque Ports, consisting of one hundred sail, attacked that of France, composed of upwards of two hundred, defeated, and destroyed them; so that, for a season, that kingdom was in a manner without seamen (*w*). This shows what the condi-

(*r*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 137. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 97. Drayton's Polyolbion, Song. xviii.—(*s*) See the English translation of Camden's Britannia. Dr. Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 122. Brome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 289.—(*t*) The same force that has destroyed so great a part of Thanet, and that made such a resistance, as Leland, Twine, and Lambard mention, against the imbanking near Sandwich, would certainly have preserved the channel, if it had been left in its natural state, even to this day.—(*u*) Where-ever grazing is the subsistence or wealth of a country, the inhabitants are few; and where-ever this comes to be introduced, manufactures vanish, and towns fall to decay.—(*w*) Walteri Hemingford Historia Edwardi primi, p. 39. N. Trivetii Annales, vol. i. p. 274. P. Daniel Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 358.

tion of this part of Kent then was. We may from hence also infer, the state ought to adopt the Roman policy, and take all havens into her immediate care and protection; regarding at the same time whatever respects navigation, such as rivers, friths, bays, &c. as belonging incontestably to the public, and therefore not to be touched, much less diverted or destroyed, from private caprice, lucre, or resentment; but to be improved, on mature deliberation, for the common benefit, as the supreme wisdom of the nation shall direct. Lastly, it is more than probable no method will be found effectual for recovering the ports of Rye or Sandwich, till we recur to the principles of nature, and abate the violence of the sea, by admitting its waters in a full body, allowing them room to spread, and depending on the force of the ebb for back-water, which alone has strength enough to keep ports free and open. A step that would not simply answer the end, in giving us those two important havens, but would also either render practicable the retrieving some of the rest, or put it in our power to open new and safe harbours, in the vicinity of the old.

IF, after all that has been said, any further arguments should be either necessary or expedient, these might be copiously drawn from the different state of the north side of Kent. Whitstaple, a place of little consequence in former times, is now, from its being a kind of port to Canterbury, become a town of brisk trade, and a great deal of business (x). Feversham was indeed of note in early times, but would probably have shared the fate of other towns, and sunk in consequence of the loss of its famous abbey, but for its commodious creek, by which it is not barely sustained, but is in a very thriving condition, exporting, when they are plenty, large quantities of oysters to Holland. The same may be affirmed of Milton, and Queenborough in the isle of Shepey; and if we take in Rochester, and its dependencies on the Medway, we may, without injury to truth, assert, there come annually from these places to London, from seven to nine hundred vessels of all sizes (y). To say nothing of the coast trade above Gravesend, which, though carried on in small craft, taken altogether is very considerable; or the ship-building and other naval manufacturers, by which multitudes are employed and maintained, in all the great yet still growing towns on that side the Thames. It is to these ports chiefly, that the observation of the wise and worthy describer of this shire is to be referred (z), that it enjoyed in perfection those advantages, so much commended by the ancients, viz. the vicinity of the sea, the convenience of a fine river, with

(x) Kilburne's Survey of Kent, p. 286. Harris's History of Kent, p. 351. Atlas maritimus et commercialis, p. 20.—(y) This I have had from good authority; and, as I am informed, the fact may be at any time verified from the custom-house books.—(z) Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 13.

the neighbourhood also of a great road, and a vast city. It is true that M. Cato speaks loudly in favour of such a situation; but then it is in respect to a farm: Mr. Lambard is much too humble in applying this to so extensive and noble a county, which was some time in name, continued longer still in point of strength, equal to a kingdom; and might most certainly become so again, if its ports were thoroughly restored, its manufactures revived, and that active spirit of industry once more awakened, which was the original source, and, while it subsisted, the steady support, of all its pristine grandeur.

WE have treated so fully of the ports made by the Bays on all the coasts of England, that it might appear how much every maritime county in this kingdom is, in this respect, still capable of improvement; and without doubt, when we reflect on the extent, the rich produce, and the numerous manufactures, in the inland parts, we cannot but be satisfied, that it would be very practicable to supply materials for trade and commerce to every one of these ports, when they shall be thus improved; so that an attention to them, speaking from the principles advanced at the beginning of this work, is really a very high point of policy. In the next place it is apparent, that this part of the island is already so far advanced in the knowledge and practice of all commercial arts, that there is the greatest reason to hope every advantage of this kind will in process of time be taken, as the means are already in a great measure in our hands; so that the pointing them out is become a labour not only expedient but necessary. Besides all this, the instances we have given of the prodigious changes that have been made, and the almost incredible profits that have accrued, from the improvements of ports long neglected and overlooked, are so many and so convincing evidences of the truth of this doctrine, as cannot, (if we love, and who can help loving, so admirable a country!) but excite us to prosecute our endeavours in this respect effectually, in order to reap all those benefits that may be derived to us from this our unrivalled and incomparable situation. But as this consists not with the bounds prescribed to this work, and as the present abilities of the inhabitants, in the other parts of the British dominions, do not require that we should be so minute in the description of their coasts, as we have in the former chapter sufficiently shown that they have already ports enough of another kind to carry on a much greater trade than they have hitherto compassed, we shall content ourselves, therefore, with mentioning only those that are most remarkable, and are visibly capable of being turned to immediate advantage.

TENBY, sometimes written Temby, or Tynby, in Pembrokeshire, on a Promontory, which extends into what is commonly called the Severn sea, an ancient, well seated, walled town, formerly strengthened with a castle, belonging to the earls

earls of Pembroke, from whence earl Jaspar, and his nephew Henry earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry the seventh, made their escape beyond the seas, in the reign of Edward the fourth, with some difficulty (*a*). It was then, and continued for many years after, a very considerable place, having a good harbour, defended by a pier, and a large share of foreign commerce. It was indebted for its rise to its fishery, which was exceedingly beneficial, and is from thence styled in the old British language Dimbifh y Pisgod, which implies as much (*b*). As the people grew wealthy, they came to contemn this laborious and dangerous occupation, so that in the last century the place on which they caught great quantities of Cod, Hake, Ling, Conger, and Bream, was no longer known; the name of it only, viz. Wills-Mark, being preserved by tradition (*c*). The port is but small; the road, which bears the name of the town, is good; but, if a proper sea-mark was placed on Woolhouse rocks, which are covered at high water, the road between the main land and the isle of Caldey, called by the natives Ynis Pyr, i. e. Pyrrhus's island, might be equally safe and commodious for men of war. Some thousand chaldrons of Coals and Culm are annually shipped from hence: on the shore there are very large quantities of iron-stone, and plenty of black marble, of which Stackpool House, or Stackpool Court, is entirely built (*d*).

WE are now to pass round Milford Haven, of which we have already spoken in the former chapter, in order to enter that large body of water which is called St. Bride's Bay, into which ships are often forced by stress of weather, and where they might meet with more safety, if some small sums were properly laid out, in perfecting what nature has begun, and prosecuted pretty far too, in several places. A good pier, carried out a sufficient distance from the Promontory called Burrow Head, would make Goldtop road very safe, in between three and four fathom water (*e*). To the north-west lies Solvach Bay, which might be converted into an excellent harbour for small vessels, though now dangerous, hardly known, and of little use. The placing sea-marks on those hitherto terrible rocks the Horse and Horseshoe, would make the passage safe through Ramsey Sound, and possibly all these advantages might be procured for less than a thousand pound (*f*). These would not only prove a great benefits to navigation, and remove the reproaches cast in general on this

(*a*) Polyd. Virgil. Hist. Angl. lib. xxiv. p. 674. Lambard's Topographical and Historical Dict. p. 376. Dr. Andrew Boarde's Peregrination over England.—(*b*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. v. fol. 26. H. Luyd Britain. Descript. fol. 64. a. Camdeni Britannia, p. 510.—(*c*) Sir John Prise's Description of Wales, p. 18. Dr. Holland's translation of Camden in Pembrokeshire. Morris's Observations on the Ports of Wales, p. 15.—(*d*) The seat of John Campbell of Calder, esq.—(*e*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 17. Morris's Observations on the Ports of Wales, p. 17.—(*f*) My authority for this is Mr. Lewis Morris, who made his survey by directions from the admiralty, and published his remarks for the information of the world.

coast, but be likewise very serviceable to the adjacent country, where coal mines actually are, and lead and copper mines may and would be wrought, if these harbours were in better order; to say nothing of what might probably arise from taking seals, porpoises (*g*), &c. which are here in abundance; and not to dwell upon another obvious topic, that this whole bay lies in the bosom of a country which has plenty of provisions, and where the people are naturally inclined enough to industry, if industry would produce any thing, which is the very end that by these emendations would be certainly attained (*h*).

CRIDACH road, lying to the east of Cardigan island, is tolerable for small vessels, with a good outlet, which is the reason it has been sometimes frequented in time of war by French privateers. A small pier at Cridach might make a safe port for vessels employed in the herring fishery. The coast is very foul, and consequently extremely dangerous, along the shore of Merionethshire, as Sarn Badrig, or Patrick's Causeway, which is a ledge of rocks, very narrow and steep, and which being many years ill laid down in the charts, occasioned many wrecks (*i*). This seems to countenance the tradition of the natives, that all this bay was formerly land, and was denominated Cantreff Gwaelod, but was swallowed by the sea in the beginning of the sixth century (*k*). About two leagues to the north-east of this ledge of rocks commences that famous road, held inferiour to none in Britain, called St. Tudwals, from an island on which are the remains of an old chapel, dedicated to that saint. This road, corruptly called Stidwells, in a very ancient author (*l*) styled the fair and pleasant Studdals, is in reality a very extraordinary and commodious place, so extensive as to hold any number of ships, well defended by the high lands of Caernarvonshire on one side, and by Ynys Tudwall and a smaller isle from the sea on the other, the water deep, and the outlet easy. By running a pier of stone from Penrhyn Du Point to the northward, a good dry harbour might be made for small vessels; and there are veins of lead and copper ore on the adjacent coast (*m*). Keiriad, Aberdaron, and Porthorion roads lie on the same coast, and afford nothing remarkable. Porthdinlleyn and Nevyn are two small ports defended by piers, which are useful

(*g*) When the Greenland fishery has proved deficient, the Dutch have applied to this kind of fishing in those seas, and made more by it than by the Whale-fishing. Strange! that it should not be worth our while at our own doors, and with so plentiful a country at hand.—(*h*) This turns most to the prejudice of the landed interest. The rising generation remove to places where labour is rewarded, and the land remains of its old value, because it continues, and till this humour changes must continue, unimproved.—(*i*) See Mr. Ed. Lhwyd's Annotations on Merionethshire, in the English Camden. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 17. Morris's Observations on the ports of Wales, p. 8.—(*k*) Many parts of Wales have been overflowed by the sea, which makes the shore foul, and renders the construction of piers, setting up sea-marks, and building lighthouses, necessary.—(*l*) Dr. Andrew Boarde's Peregrination over England, under the title of Havens.—(*m*) Morris's Observations on the ports of Wales, p. 8.

for covering such vessels as are employed in the herring fishery (*n*). There is little room to doubt that if commerce once flourished, and the inhabitants grew wealthy, it would be found very practicable to help the defects of nature by art, so as to render several of these Havens capable of receiving ships of burden.

IN the former chapter we have expressed a full persuasion, that this spacious region might be improved much beyond what it is, and of consequence the people who inhabit it rendered more numerous, and withal more happy, than they are; let us presume to say something more upon so interesting a subject. Wales, including Monmouthshire, which naturally belongs to, though politically detached from, it (*o*), and excluding Anglesey, which, as an island, will be considered in the next chapter, is larger than the noble Dutchy of Milan, the rich principality of Piedmont, reputed to afford its sovereign an annual revenue of three hundred thousand pounds sterling; or than the entire island and kingdom of Sardinia (*p*). But it will be said, that, in comparison of these, Wales is deficient in point of climate and fertility. It may be so; and yet I have heard of fruits ripening in Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, and in some other parts of this country, in a degree of perfection little inferiour to any of those that have been mentioned: And, with regard to all the necessaries of life, which is much more essential, I doubt whether it yields to them or not (*q*). But in this I am very clear, that its natural commodities are to the full as valuable, and that it has, or might have, many advantages from its situation, which they have not. I am farther satisfied, that there have been ages when it was equal to them in all respects; that is, had as many inhabitants, as great a number of fair cities and towns, and furnished as comfortable a subsistence to those who lived in them, as the people in any of these countries enjoy at present (*r*). Neither are there, at least in my conception, any insuperable difficulties, to prevent it from becoming again what it was; and some things I will take the liberty to hint, in support of this opinion.

THE propagation of timber generally through this principality, would be attended with the greatest benefit, and might be done at a very small expense. If two thousand

(*n*) These are not barely inconsiderable, but also decaying; though the piers for their preservation were constructed to cover the fishery, which will be lost with them.—(*o*) Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 26, erected Monmouth into a county, and annexed it to England. It is not half the bigness of Caermarthenshire, but pays more to the land tax, as being more populous than almost any county in Wales.—(*p*) Templeman's Survey of the Globe, pl. ix. It is of no consequence whether that gentleman is exactly right in his calculations or not; for being all made upon the same principle, tho' the numbers may be wrong, the analogy will be still the same.—(*q*) When gentlemen of large fortunes in this country come to lay out gardens and plantations, they find no difficulty insuperable; and no doubt with equal skill, application, and diligence, more material and extensive improvements in husbandry might be likewise made.—(*r*) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 190.

acres were marked out in every county, in spots the most proper, with regard to a conveyance by land or water, and properly planted with ship-timber, it would produce in time an immense revenue, and this with as much certainty as in affairs of this nature can well be expected (s). But even in the worst lands, and in the most inaccessible places, fir and pine-trees might be very easily had, and in a country where saw mills may be commodiously erected, would turn to prodigious account, as well in deals as in pitch, tar, resin, turpentine, and be a very great saving to this nation, which, as we have before observed, stands very much in need of such a supply (t). Foreign trees, already introduced by way of curiosities, might be cultivated there for use, with equal facility and success. Such, for instance, as cork trees of all kinds (u); the cypress, a most valuable and lasting wood, applicable to a variety of purposes, and excellent in most (w); the *Cytisus Alpinus*, or Laburnum, little inferior to mahogany (x); and many more that might be mentioned. Biscay, which in several respects resembles Wales, but is not half so big, is in this particular, under wise and proper regulations, made the great support of the vast dominions of the crown of Spain (y); and, which is an argument in matters of this sort irresistible, experience already shows this is not barely possible but practicable: timber and bark are already among the exports of many parts of Wales, and therefore if from thence we could be supplied with what is annually brought from Norway, there would be a constant market for all that could be raised; which would bring in ready money, and thereby contribute to make other improvements advance.

FROM the propagation to the manufacture is a very easy transition. If, as has been long expected, a public dock should be established in Milford-Haven, it would very quickly have a great effect, not only in exciting numbers to plant timber, but by bringing the art of ship-building to be more highly considered, more extensively practised, and more thoroughly understood. Private men would undoubtedly follow the public example; and the building many and

(s) In order to facilitate so great and growing a benefit as this would prove, the same expedients might be used that have been recommended in speaking of Suffolk.

—(t) The method commonly practised in propagating these trees in Norway, is by tying a score of ripe Cones to the top of a pole, fixed on a hill, and letting the wind scatter the seeds, which will be sure to spring wherever the soil is suitable.

(u) Evelyn's *Sylva*, book ii. chap. 5. They grow in the great perfection in the Pyrenean mountains, in the North of America, in the very worst soil, nay where there is scarce any soil at all, though very profitable, and fit for a variety of uses.

—(w) Ravi Histor. Planter. lib. xxv. cap. 5. This wood is inestimable for sheathing, the bitterness destroying, and the odour being insupportable to worms.

—(x) This grows every-where in the Alps to a tall timber tree; but in richer soils spends itself in boughs. In this and the last war in Germany they have found the leaves and small twigs of this tree, green or dry, most excellent and wholesome forage.—(y) All parts of this island contribute to the support of government; the attention of government ought therefore to extend to all parts of this island.

large

large merchantmen would be the necessary and natural consequence of the construction of a few men of war. In this respect there wants but the countenance of such an encouragement, and the conveniences of that ample port are so many and so great, that the art, in supreme perfection, would be there very speedily established, than which nothing could be more beneficial for this country. The iron-stone that lies upon the coast would no longer be neglected: All the trades subservient to ship-building would successively arise; and, as the number of people increased, it would occasion a consumption of fat cattle; and then their hides and their tallow, being of immediate use, tanning and other manufactures would gradually follow. In the course of a few years, the prosperity of this place would inspire the inhabitants of other sea ports with emulation; and if we consider the Havens in the North of England, where ship-building now flourishes, we may easily conceive, that there is nothing forced or improbable in this supposition (z). On the contrary, the first step being effectually taken, the rest would be gradually introduced, perhaps in much less time than the most zealous advocate for the measure would venture to promise.

It has been thought by those who are esteemed good judges of the subject, that as sugar cannot be exported to Ireland till it be cleared from some port in Great Britain, which is intended to secure the dependance of that island, and our plantations upon this their mother country, it would in a great measure remove the several inconveniencies which this restriction occasions, if the port of Milford-Haven was particularly destined to this use (a). It has been also suggested, which is of yet higher importance, that this port might serve also very commodiously for clearing out tobacco exported to different parts of Europe; a branch of commerce highly beneficial to this nation, and consequently entitled to all possible attention (b). It is alleged, in support of this suggestion, that the situation of this Haven is peculiarly adapted to the reception of such vessels as come laden with those commodities from America, or the West-Indies. It is likewise affirmed, much of that expense and trouble would be by these means saved, which have been experienced to be unavoidable in other places. All the accommodations expedient for the merchants, might be here very speedily provided; and also

(z) As these owe their beginnings to chance, and their advancement to great cost and hard labour, one would be glad, in this instance, to see the invitation of nature accepted, and the advantages she offers improved by an application founded in national encouragement.—(a) Stat. 22 & 23 Car. II. cap. xxvi. sect. 11. 27 Car. II. cap. vii. sect. 2. 9 & 10 Will. III. cap. xxiii. sect. 13. Dobb's Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland. p. 38, where he computes the consumption of sugar at between sixty and seventy thousand pounds annually.—(b) Stat. 8 Ann. cap. xiii. sect. 18. Essay on Trade in general, and on the Trade of Ireland in particular, p. 81, 82, 83. As the tobacco in our plantations is in the highest esteem, so all foreign nations would use as well as prefer it, if they could obtain it more easily, which is our interest as well as theirs.

every precaution taken that should appear requisite to prevent frauds, which seems to be the principal end that this regulation had in view. Lastly, it is asserted, that from this harbour, when their cargoes were after clearance reimbarked, vessels might proceed to the respective ports for which they are designed with much facility, and without loss of time (*c*). Taking the facts to be as thus stated, the concession desired would be equally advantageous to this Haven, convenient for all parties, and expedient for the public service.

I HAVE used my utmost endeavours to gain as clear a notion of this matter as possible, and have laboured to express that notion with all the perspicuity I could, because, if it should be well founded, it must certainly contribute greatly to the emolument of this place, and to the improvement both of the trade and commerce of South Wales, which, in its consequences, would be unquestionably beneficial to the whole British empire (*d*). But as I am not acquainted with the harbour, and therefore cannot positively insist upon the matters of fact which I have related, I would be understood only to recommend them to an impartial inquiry, upon a supposition that these circumstances appearing, and all necessary steps being taken to render the landing, weighing, clearing out, registering, and reimbarking the goods, as easy to the owners, and as safe to the revenue, as may be, the convenience will quickly appear in so strong a light, as to attract the greatest part of the vessels thus employed to that Haven, which cannot fail of bringing it more into request (*e*). Natural advantages, however great in themselves, are but too liable, in all countries, to be overlooked; and therefore it is incumbent upon the government, when apprised of them, to consider and call them forth for the common advantage (*f*). Leghorn was a very despicable place, and besides unwholesome from its situation, till the advantage of its Haven being discerned by the grand duke of Tuscany, and the state of commerce in Italy being duly weighed, gave him the prospect of the benefits it might produce (*g*). This idea being prosecuted with equal prudence and spirit, soon changed the face of things, not barely in respect to that port, but in

(*c*) Annotations on the English translation of Camden's Britannia. Cutler's Counting Pilot, p. 17. Morris's Observations on the Havens in Wales, p. 14—(*d*) Correspondence of every kind increases trade and commerce in general; and the frequenting this port would not only augment business here, but in many other places.—(*e*) The very coming of vessels hither to discharge and to embark sugar and tobacco, would promote the sale of their native commodities; and the inhabitants themselves would be soon invited to take a share in their outward-bound cargoes.—(*f*) Consider and compare what has been said as to the causes of the rise of Liverpool, Whitehaven, Hull, Lynn, Harwich, and other ports, and the probability of what is advanced in the text will be apparent.—(*g*) This port has been in the hands of the Pisans and Genoese, who saw not the possibility of making it so considerable; and yet they were reckoned amongst the most penetrating people in Italy.

regard to a large extent of country round, and in process of time to the whole territory of that prince (*b*).

As this spacious country sunk into a state of decay by degrees, so we cannot expect it should emerge on a sudden. As soon as a beginning shall be once made, by the appointment of proper officers, the alterations which shall appear requisite in Milford-Haven will not only give life to planting, and various other improvements, but add spirit to the fishery, which must be always cherished, as it is also certainly capable of being extended in Wales, not only as the great nursery of seamen, but as supplying a numerous and healthy race of people, who not only maintain themselves and families, but employ and support by their industry many more families on shore, and, as encouraged and increased, will be in that respect still further useful (*i*). The augmentation of mouths which such measures would procure, must create a consumption of meat, and of all other necessaries; which would hasten every infant manufacture forward, and excite also the setting up more. Hence a continual circulation would be certainly produced between the places in which they were settled, and foreign commerce would in a short time keep pace with domestic trade (*k*). Navigation, being once thoroughly introduced, must undoubtedly make a rapid progress in a country, the maritime parts of which abound with materials, bulky in themselves, and in their nature of general use; such as metals, coals, salt, corn, malt, &c. and as these are staple commodities, there is no possibility that they should be hastily exhausted, or any cause to fear they would sink in price (*l*). The very contrary of this must be very speedily and very certainly felt, to the honour of this naturally rich country, and the emolument of its hospitable inhabitants. How much this is to be wished, and at the same time how much reason there is for these attempts, slender as they are, to indicate the means, cannot but appear to whoever considers, that, though containing five times the territory, this whole principality contributes less to the land-tax (though possibly more to the poor's rate) than the single county of Somerset (*m*).

(*b*) Dallington's Survey of the great duke of Tuscany's state and dominions, London, 1605. Bishop Burnet's Travels into Italy, letter iii. Addison's Travels, in his works, vol. i. p. 136—139.—(*i*) An increase of commerce would extend navigation; this would afford employment for seamen; and for these the fisheries would serve as a seminary, from whence they might be drawn, and also a retreat, when not in pay, as is the case in the North, and in other parts of England.—(*k*) This we know has frequently or rather constantly happened in other places, and therefore we run no great hazard in predicting the same consequences would attend such encouragement given here.—(*l*) The plenty of those valuable commodities mentioned in the text might, and certainly would, be greatly increased, by creating a new, constant, and regular demand.—(*m*) The truth of this will appear, from the perusal of any land-tax act, and the schemes of the poor's rate, as levied in the respective counties, one of which I have procured.

THERE has been, since part of this work was committed to the press, (for having so long and so many journies to make, my progress has indeed been slow,) a society instituted in Brecknockshire, which is an inland county of this principality, for purposes so rational in themselves, so laudable, because so public-spirited, in their intention, that I cannot easily find words to testify that satisfaction their establishment has given me, as I make not any doubt of their success, or in consequence of that of other societies rising gradually up, with like views, in all the different counties (*n*). It is formed on a plan that at once preserves equality, and excites emulation amongst its members, all of whom preside in their turns, and contribute to the expense employed in the advancement of the general interest. Their views are, to encourage agriculture in all its branches, to introduce the linen, to extend the woollen manufacture, amend and make new roads, and, in a word, to cherish and support industry of every kind (*o*). If we consider this in one light, it is not only a well-judged but a most extensive charity, reaching not simply to the present generation, but to latest posterity: If viewed in another, it is a most profitable academy, where, by a communication of their separate lights, the whole body gradually acquires a treasure of solid and practical science. At the same time it may, and in truth ought to, be regarded, as an admirable instrument of genuine policy, calculated to advance the welfare of the community (*p*). Look upon it in any way, consider it in what light you will, on the first appearance, and the closest inspection, it is still prudent, useful, and amiable. It holds out encouragement and protection to the poor; it rewards assiduity and application in the active; it visibly promotes the extension and increase of property, by the surest means; it provides for the instruction even of the most learned, by bringing every probable proposal to the test of experiment, which can alone secure certainty; and it guards such as are less knowing from injuring themselves by improper pursuits, through the premiums they give upon such methods of improving as they know may be carried on to profit. May providence prosper their endeavours! May mankind pay a proper respect to their conduct! And may others follow their excellent example!

IN the former chapter we have discoursed pretty copiously of such ports as lie in the Firths of North Britain; though considering those Firths as Bays, these ports might many of

(*n*) All enterprises of this sort, though slow, doubtful, and difficult in their beginnings, yet when once their foundations are well laid, prejudices overcome, and numbers set to work, proceed amazingly fast.—(*o*) These views are exceedingly well adjusted: Cheapness of provisions is an essential article towards the support of manufactures; and going easily to market is all that is farther wanting to render labour and manufactures thoroughly successful.—(*p*) Voluntary subscriptions are the surest testimonies of public spirit: Those only who give, direct, which secures frugality; and both taken together, will, if any thing can, exclude corruption.

them,

them, without impropriety, have been placed in this. But having been once spoken to, we will confine ourselves now to such as lie immediately on the sea. There are, in the common opinion, a greater number of these, on both sides of this part of the island, than, even in their present state, the scanty commerce of North Britain seems to require (*q*). But yet we shall find several of them, on the east side more especially, upon a closer examination; so much injured by time and neglect, that it is no small hindrance to the industry of the inhabitants, who would certainly export more of their commodities and manufactures, and of consequence would employ a much larger proportion of labour and skill in procuring both, if their harbours were in a better condition (*r*). It is with the bulk of a people as it is with particular men, if they have not tools they cannot work; or even if they have they will not, without the prospect of a market; and therefore it is the interest of the public to give them assistance in this respect; because without it, they remain less profitable members of society, or are induced to desert their own country, in order to seek that encouragement elsewhere which they would have readily embraced, if they could have met with it at home (*s*). What therefore is proposed in this place, is no more than to insist on a few of the most remarkable, and which, in their present situation, are attended with particular circumstances, that seem to recommend them to public notice, so far as to procure those amendments that are requisite, to render them of much greater utility than formerly, or than, without such attention shown them, they are ever likely to be.

THE first of these thus recommended shall be the port of Dunbar, near the entrance of the Firth of Forth (*t*). It is a royal Burgh, and was heretofore a strong place, defended also by a castle or fortress, which was much stronger, and the principal cause of its suffering extremely in the civil war; since which its fortifications have been partly neglected, and partly demolished (*u*). As it lies in the shire of Haddington, or East Lothian, which, in point of beauty and fertility, is not inferior to any in North Britain, and as there have long been, and still are, woollen and other manufactures carried on in that shire, so, from its vicinity to the places where those manufactures are settled, it is become a town of good trade, and, in virtue of its harbour, of some foreign com-

(*q*) See the several modern descriptions of this country, which all suggest, that there are harbours enough, and but few vessels belonging to them; which is, generally speaking, the truth.—(*r*) It is not barely the number, but the situation also, in respect to Havens, that renders them beneficial to a country, by affording equal means of improvement in all its parts.—(*s*) In every country one of the principal objects of improvement should be, to retain its subjects; because the loss of them is not only an irreparable misfortune, but an indelible reproach.—(*t*) Joan. Lessæi Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ Descriptio, p. 15. Buchanan, lib. i. p. 13.—(*u*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 687. Sir James Dalrymple's Description of Scotland, chap. vii. p. 29. The Present State of Scotland, London, 1682, 12^o, p. 131.

merce (*w*). This Haven, however, is not either large or commodious, and is, at its entrance, also embarrassed with rocks. Two acts of parliament, the first for nineteen, the second for twenty-five years, now near expired, were obtained, granting the usual allowance for the improvement of the port, and other purposes; since which, and more especially after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, it began to thrive (*x*). The herring fishery is sometimes very profitable; these herrings, in point of quality, as well as size, being generally esteemed superiour to those caught by the Dutch. Some public-spirited persons have also set up Whale-fishing here, with success (*y*). But from the commencement of the present war, Dunbar has suffered in common with other harbours on this side of the island. It continues, nevertheless, in a flourishing state, and has five creeks dependent upon it, in the custom-house accounts (*z*). This place, if the port was once improved as far as it is capable, so as to receive more ships, and those of larger burden, and that allowance to maintain those improvements, which they now enjoy, continued for a farther term, would, from the convenience of its position, and the industrious temper of the people in the country about it, become, in all human probability, much more considerable than we now find it.

St. Andrews is an ancient city, once the glory of Fife. In respect to situation, it has been justly celebrated, by foreign as well as domestic writers; lying in a sweet plain, admirably watered, enjoying a pure and wholesome air, a rich and fertile soil, and having a fine prospect of the sea (*a*). It was a place of note, when possessed by the Picts, became an episcopal see in the ninth century, and the seat of an archbishop, Metropolitan of Scotland, in the fifteenth (*b*). An university had been founded here a little before, which still subsists, and is now composed of two though till very lately, of three colleges (*c*). There was also a castle, built for its protection, the vestiges of which, at this time, are scarce visible. In its flourishing state it consisted of four

(*w*) English translation of Camden's Britannia. Brome's Travels through England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 191, 192. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 7.—(*x*) Stat. 5 Georg. I. cap. 16. 10 Georg. II. cap. ii. This last statute determines in 1763, or the close of the next sessions of parliament.—(*y*) Spruel's Scheme of Scotland's Products and Manufactures, p. 25. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 9. Lindsey's Interest of Scotland considered, p. 182.—(*z*) Crouch's Book of Rates, p. 286. I have taken all the pains I could to ascertain these facts, as well from extracts out of the custom-house books, as private information.—(*a*) Cardan de vita propria, cap. 29. 40. Isolario di Thomaso Porcacchi, lib. i. p. 24. Arthuri Johnstoni Eulogium Fani Sti Andreæ, apud Camdeni Britanniam.—(*b*) Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. ii. fol. 37. b. 38, b. Major de Gestis Scotorum, lib. i. cap. 15. fol. 22. a. Lestæi Regionum et insularium Scotiæ Descriptio, p. 24.—(*c*) Hæctoris Boethii Scotorum Historiæ, lib. xvi. fol. 342. Camdeni Britannia, p. 703. Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 57, 58. Present State of Scotland, p. 197. Stat. 20 Geo. II. cap. 32.

large streets, handsomely built, with smaller streets and lanes crossing them, containing in the whole about two thousand houses; of which streets two are still pretty entire, and there remain in them about the fourth part of that number of habitable houses (*d*). The cathedral and castle are ruinous, other public edifices decaying, some utterly consumed (*e*). The religious houses; the revenues of the clergy, who composed the chapter; the students of the university, once very numerous; the dependents and officers of the archbishops; and the resort of Pilgrims from all parts, and even from beyond the seas, drawn by the fame of the relics of the tutelar saint, supposed to be lodged therein, proved the great support of this city, which was then rich and populous, with excellent roads on every side, which still in some measure remain, and its fairs are much frequented, with a good fishery, and a considerable foreign commerce (*f*). It would have been happy, if when those funds arising from superstition were taken away, some methods had been concerted, both here and in other places, that might have prevented the decay and depopulation of the city, which, in consequence of so great a change, and the sudden exclusion of such a number of persons, as, from the causes before-mentioned, were obliged, and, in consequence of that obligation, had also the means assigned them of living in St. Andrews, immediately declined, and has continued gradually sinking ever since (*g*).

It had probably sunk much sooner, if king James the sixth had not reformed and restored the university, to which its revenues were effectually secured (*h*). It remained still possessed of a good harbour, though rendered originally such by art, capable of receiving an hundred sail of as large vessels as were then commonly used. The merchants and owners of ships had handsome and spacious houses, with cellars, and other conveniencies suitable, in the North street, now totally demolished and gone, and were wont to employ Busses, to fish for herring in deep water, and also for cod and ling on the banks, which furnished many families with a comfortable subsistence. Besides this, they had still a competent domestic

(*d*) Dr. Sibbald's History of Fife, p. 134, 135. Additions to Camden's Britannia. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 7.—(*e*) Sir James Dalrymple's Description of Scotland, chap. xx. p. 119, 120. Brome's Travels through England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 183. All the modern descriptions.—(*f*) See the appendix to archbishop Spotswood's history, and the accounts given of the magnificence of this city in the time of cardinal Beton and archbishop Hamilton.—(*g*) In such revolutions as these private interest commonly prevails; and the welfare of the public, though made the instrument to effect such changes, is, in effecting them, very little regarded.—(*h*) Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Hist. lib. vii. p. 229. Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 447. 455. Moyles Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. p. 253.

trade, and some share of foreign correspondence(*i*). At the beginning of the troubles in the reign of Charles the first, which is a proof of what has been said, there were about fifty sail belonging to the place. The fatal blow at Dundee reduced the far greater part of the traders of this city, who, as to a place of security, had sent the best of their effects thither. A convincing evidence of this arises from their manner of raising five hundred pounds, being the composition for a thousand, demanded by general Monk soon after; which being by way of loan, on interest, has remained a debt upon the corporation ever since (*k*). In the reign of Charles the second somewhat was done for the university, but nothing for the city, which is also an ancient royal burgh; or the port, which was then decaying daily, as their fishery, for want of money to repair those defects, was likewise gradually declining, till in the end it was quite lost. At the union of the two kingdoms, St. Andrews was so fallen, that in the assessment then made of the royal boroughs to the cess, corresponding to the land tax in South Britain, she pays about an eighth of what is charged upon Glasgow (*l*). By the inhabitants being thus impoverished, though they have constantly struggled, as far as they were able, to maintain their port, in which they have received also some little assistance from the other royal boroughs, and from the generous spirit of one of their provosts (*m*), yet time and storms had so destroyed it thirty years ago, that Peter lord King being chancellor of Great Britain, they petitioned him for a brief, setting forth, that the Haven might be thoroughly repaired, for less than the sum of nine thousand pounds; which brief produced little: And now, as may be reasonably expected, it is become so much worse, as to be in effect no port at all; the sand having filled it up, and thereby deprived the inhabitants of hope, and of course put an end to their endeavours (*n*).

THE reviving the lustre of this once splendid city; the recovering to its former utility this once commodious Haven, and thereby restoring to its ancient prosperity the happily seated Peninsula of Fife, would be such a noble testimony of the wisdom and public spirit of the present generation, as could not fail of exciting the emulation, as well as commanding the respect of latest posterity (*o*). This certainly,

(*i*) It appears from hence, that without some equivalent for the archiepiscopal see, and other ecclesiastical endowments, the city could not support itself, which was a great loss to the whole county of Fife, where lands, even at this time, sell at a lower rate than in some more remote shires.—(*k*) Historical Remarks on the ancient city of St. Andrews in North Britain. London, 1728. 8vo. Addressed to Peter lord King, then lord high chancellor of Great Britain.—(*l*) Stat. Car. II. p. 3. c. 23. pag. 562. Present State of Scotland, chap. xi. p. 196.—206. See also the Historical Remarks before cited, and all the modern accounts of the place.—(*m*) Historical Remarks on the city of St. Andrews in North Britain, p. 26, 27.—(*n*) According to the best information I have been able to procure.—(*o*) As the sight of ancient ruins naturally excites veneration for past times, so such renovations of decayed cities, have been ever justly regarded, not only as works of true policy [as they certainly are], but also as monuments of public piety.

though so long neglected, is very practicable, with a small degree of attention, and without demanding any large expense. The country about it abounds in grain, as also in coals and salt; so that provisions being plenty, labour is of course cheap. There are likewise in its neighbourhood great flocks of sheep, producing large quantities of wool, which is of such a staple as may be very easily spun and wove into a sort of light pleasant stuff, resembling the Etamines of Rheims, Amiens, Mans, Lude, Nogent le Rotru, and other places in France, which are used for the nuns veils, the clothing the secular clergy in most popish countries, and many other purposes; or the Stametes of the low countries, not much unlike them, but of all colours, and of which there is in the Levant a great consumption; which manufactures might, without difficulty, be brought to, and established in St. Andrews, where there are spare hands enough to be employed (p). The port, though fallen into so low and deplorable a condition, still retains a capacity of being made full as good or better than ever it was, by removing those heaps of sand which entirely choke the basin; repairing the breaches made in the old works; and, which is most material, by running a stone pier as far as the Beacon, which would hinder vessels from being driven on rocks at the entrance, and enable them to ride safe in the harbour (q). The beach is as proper as any for drying cod and other fish in the best method; and if the port, become in a manner useless, was once put into a proper state, with these additions, the herring fishery, now no longer carried on, as requiring better vessels than at present belong to the place, would be very soon retrieved (r). Allow me to say still farther, that if one of the decayed edifices was converted into what in South Britain is called a Trinity house, of which captains of men of war coming thither occasionally, and experienced masters of ships, in any of the ports on the coast, might be members, with a power to examine and swear pilots, and to inspect the other harbours on this side of North Britain, and the management of the fisheries, reporting annually their observations to the trustees, it would be of service to the place, and at the same time a benefit to the public. If under their view also a school or college for instructing youth in astronomy, cosmography, geography, natural history, the past and present state of commerce, with the theory of navigation in all its branches, were added to the university, for both which foundations the city is admirably seated, all these

(p) Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, vol. iii. col. 312. vol. iv. col. 846. This would be so far from injuring, that it would be no difficult thing to show that it would be serviceable to the Woollen manufactures of South Britain, and that in many respects.—(q) As this Haven lies in the middle between the two Firths of Forth and Murray, it would be very useful, in bad weather, to vessels bound to either, and not able to make the entrances of these Firths.—(r) A late act of parliament in favour of the fishery, has raised a great spirit in this part of the island, which however cannot turn to the benefit of this place, till the Haven is restored.
desirable

desirable ends would be speedily attained (*s*). As the bay of St. Andrews, from Fifeness to Red Head, is twenty-four miles in extent, and ships in great danger with the wind at east or north-east, the restoring this, which is the only Haven of any size in that space, would be of general use to the trade of this part of Britain. At present it is considered as a creek to Anstruther, which is itself no more than a member of the port of Kircaldy (*t*).

PETERHEAD lies in the shire of Aberdeen, and is a small town remarkable from its situation, being the most eastern on the continent of North Britain; and for its port, or rather two ports, upon the German ocean, hitherto serviceable only for small vessels; and yet even in that light, they are unquestionably the chief support of the place (*u*). It has been thought by some able judges, from whose informations alone these proposals are derived, that, though little and insignificant at present, it merits attention upon many accounts. Because, as in the former chapter we have more than once observed, a safe and commodious harbour is much wanted on this coast, and might be obtained here without much trouble, and probably also without any great expense. Next, because its position renders it exceedingly fit to be made a staple for the herring fishery on this side; as that fishery is carried on, especially in good seasons, both to the North and to the South of it, and Peterhead is central in that respect. Lastly, because it may be made useful, in many other circumstances, to the navigation of Britain in general (*w*). The two ports that it now has, looking South and North, are divided by a channel, which, except at high water, is very shallow. The south port is covered to the east by an island called Keith Inch, and that to the north by another rocky island, which, from its verdant appearance, has been styled Greenhill. It is proposed, by deepening the channel, that these two ports should be united into one, preserving both entrances, and repairing the old, and making some new works, this port may, it is presumed, have twenty feet water (*x*).

IN consequence of these simple, and surely practicable alterations, the first end would be answered, and the new Haven be of a proper size, a good depth, and alike secure against

(*s*) Institutions of this sort, which would initiate youth early in the principles of those sciences and arts, requisite in active life, would be very useful in North Britain.—(*t*) *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 7. *Lindsey's Interest of Scotland considered*, p. 196, 197. *Crouch's Book of Rates*, p. 387.—(*u*) *Lindsey's Interest of Scotland considered*, p. 192. *Cutler's Coasting Pilot*, p. 8. *Crouch's Book of Rates*, p. 386.—(*w*) Another circumstance to be considered is, that in the road of Peterhead is good anchorage, and ships may ride safe from any winds that blow from shore.—(*x*) A letter to a member of parliament, concerning the free British fisheries, with draughts of a herring buss and nets, and of the town and harbour of Peterhead, 8vo. 1750.

both enemies and weather, if Keith Inch, in which there is an old castle, and in time of war a battery, were once regularly fortified (*y*). Peterhead would, in this case, answer sufficiently the sums laid out upon it, as it would, in regard to the second purpose, become a most convenient situation for repacking and re-embarking the herrings designed for the German and the Baltic markets. It must also, in that condition, serve still more effectually, in the same capacity, in reference to the whole Greenland Fishery; this being the first land made by those ships on their return. Since by proper improvements in the town, the country adjacent, and the islands, all the operations that lucrative trade (which the legislature has so warmly and so wisely encouraged) can require, might be performed with far greater ease, and yet infinitely less charge, than elsewhere, and the clear oil, the whalebone in bundles, and the spermaceti prepared, directly sent from thence, by proper vessels, to London, and, which is the great end to be accomplished, to foreign markets (*z*). In like manner, ships outward-bound for that fishery, might take in provisions, sea-stores, and most of their men here; which would be, in many respects, and in no small degree, advantageous (*a*). Both fisheries are to be obtained, perhaps I should say recovered, and kept too, if again made ours, no otherwise than by constant application, extreme diligence, and the strictest frugality. These, and none but these, are the chains by which the Dutch have hitherto retained them, in spite of all the means that at different periods have been used to divest them of what are our natural, and their acquired, sources of wealth, navigation, and people; and will certainly continue to do so, till these methods are employed for making the most of all our harbours; in which, through the benevolence of providence, we are so much their superiours (*b*).

As to the remaining ports on the East side of North Britain, I have nothing to add to what I said in the last chapter. In the front of our island, to the North, lies Loch Eribol in Strathnaver, which runs some miles into the land, and thereby affords, whenever the inhabitants shall have any commerce, a convenient and a capacious Haven. On the West,

(*y*) If, in its present condition, it is thought expedient to have, in time of war, a battery on the island; a fort and a small garrison would be both useful and necessary, in case it was, for the purposes above-mentioned, thus improved.—(*z*) The great benefit the Dutch derived from this trade, was by exporting boat-oil, and Spermaceti. If we serve ourselves, we certainly save what we formerly paid for these commodities; but in order to gain, we must also vend all, or some of them at least, to other nations.—(*a*) It is apparent, that one-third, at least, of the expenses might be saved to the owners at London; and, at the same time, the money spent at Peterhead would fender it a thriving place.—(*b*) Much wonder has been made how the Dutch could work us out of these fisheries, which lie so near to us, and so far from them; whereas in truth we have always neglected our capital and directive advantages, and thereby have in fact worked out ourselves.

as I have been very lately informed by that intelligent and diligent person, from whom the public is to expect a clear account of those hitherto unsurveyed coasts, they abound with very safe and noble ports, such as are to be looked for in vain on any part of the Continent (*c*). Of these, as my subject seems to require it, I presume to mention a few. Loch Laxford in Edra Chulis, which is the west side of Strathnaver, a country far from being inhospitable, or even unpleasant, though in so northern a climate. Loch Dow, and Loch Einnard, in Assynt. Loch Broom runs many miles eastward into the land, upon which there was formerly a custom-house. Loch Ewe, in which, at its opening into the sea, is a pretty island of the same denomination. Gare Loch, and Loch Torrinodon, all in the old shire of Ross, are large bays of the sea, which might accommodate several good towns, if they were built on their shores. Loch Duich separates Kintail and Glenelg, two districts of the same country, anciently called Ross, and is a very beautiful body of water (*d*).

LOCH SUNART, in Argyleshire is twenty-four miles in extent, having an island at the mouth, which divides it into two narrow channels; though above this island it opens again, so as to become upwards of an English mile in breadth (*e*). To the south of this, at a small distance from Dunstaffnage, once a royal castle, lies a small, safe, commodious port, called Oban Bay, covered by the island of Kerrera, which is in length about three miles, by which it is effectually defended from west winds, as it is, in like manner, secured, by high lands on the continent, from all other winds (*f*). On the north side of this bay there are eleven, on the south twenty-six, in the middle about twenty fathom water. Add to all this, that the whole sound is in effect an harbour, or at least a commodious road, with twenty fathom water, and good anchorage almost every where. There are, besides, two havens in the isle, one from its shape called the

(*c*) The person meant in the text is the ingenious Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, to whom we already owe the following useful performance, the title of which at large runs thus: "Orcades; or a Geographic and Hydrographic Survey of the Orkney and Lewis Islands, in eight maps; exhibiting the rocks, shoals, soundings, quality of the bottom, diversities of the coast, flowings, setting of the tides, and distant views of the land: also an account of the Orkney Islands, the manner of taking the survey, the state of the tides, and a particular description of the rocks, shoals, channels, harbours, anchoring places, the directions, irregularities, and velocities, of the several streams of tide round each island. Interspersed with suitable directions for sailors." London, 1750. Folio.

(*d*) The situation of these ports is so described in the text as to be most easily found in the large maps of this country, till those charts shall appear, in which they will be more correctly delineated.—(*e*) Letter to a member of parliament, concerning the Free British Fisheries, p. 40. Confirmed to me by many persons who are well acquainted with the country.—(*f*) The account in the text I take from an accurate draught of this convenient harbour, made upon the spot with all possible care and attention, and in order to support the application for establishing a custom-house here, as is also mentioned in the text.

Horse-shoe,

Horfe-shoe, the other Ardintraive; with two fair outlets, one to the north-east, the other to the south-west; so that vessels may enter and depart, without inconveniency or danger (*g*). The situation of this place, in the very track of ships bound to or from the northern parts of Europe, seems to demand attention; and upon this account, as I have been informed, application has been lately made with success, for establishing a custom-house at the little town called Oban, which stands immediately upon it; and this will undoubtedly be not only useful to the town, and serviceable to the country, but beneficial also, in many respects, to the navigation of the north-west side of Britain in general (*h*). Circumstances which, in an age like this, when the emoluments arising to the public from bringing a country into cultivation, introducing trade, and thereby augmenting the number and substance of the people who inhabit it, are so well understood, must have their weight (*i*). We will conclude this subject with mentioning Loch Fyne, incomparably the fairest inlet of them all, which is sixty miles long, and from two to four broad at the upper end, where stands the town of Inverara, which occasions Argyle, and all its dependencies, to be sometimes called the shire of Inverara (*k*). This royal burgh is the residence of his grace the duke of Argyle, who has built a stately palace there, on purpose to indicate, what, in so advantageous a situation, posterity may do for enlarging and embellishing the town, when industry shall have improved the country round about; and the inhabitants, from its produce and its fishery, for which it is already very justly famous, have made it what nature seems to have designed, the centre of the commerce of the western coast, and of the isles (*l*).

AN objection may possibly be started, from the account I have given of this country, against the general doctrine I have so much laboured to establish. It may be said, If this district possess in reality so many fine havens, and yet continues in so rude a situation, with few towns, and little or no commerce, what becomes of your proposition, that places having

(*g*) There are two iron furnaces in the vicinity of this port; but the ore wrought there is brought from Lancashire, though there is enough in that country, if the inhabitants, instead of letting their woods, were wealthy enough to work their own mines, and manufacture their own iron.—(*h*) The only port on this coast at present is Fort William, upon Loch Eil, which, though very commodious for the garrison, is of little service to commerce; because ships once at anchor there are liable to be long detained, for want of the winds necessary to bring them out.—(*i*) Whatever brought ships and commerce into this country, would of course excite industry; and in proportion to the amendment of their private conditions, the inhabitants would become much more active as members of society, and more useful subjects to the state.—(*k*) See the statutes, 20 Geo. II. cap. 45. sect. 33. & 22 Geo. II. cap. 29. sect. 1.—(*l*) The commerce of the North-west of South Britain, and of the North of Ireland, with this part of North Britain and the isles, might be very beneficial to them all; and the Haven of Inverara may well entitle the place to become their principal emporium.

these advantages are the most valuable of any upon the globe (*m*)? A short account of the causes of its being in this distressed state, will unravel this mystery, and place things in their true light. The inhabitants of the countries to the north of Argyleshire live in the very same manner, and under the same tenures their ancestors did; and their landlords, or at least many of them, preferring their own certain and immediate interest to the uncertain though greater benefits that might result to them from the prosperity of their tenants, are content that in this condition they should for ever live (*n*). They lie at a vast distance from England, and besides speak no language but a dialect of the old British, unintelligible as Arabic to their southern neighbours; and under these circumstances, as things have continued for ages, so probably they might continue for ages still, and the capacity of the country for the most beneficial improvements subsist, notwithstanding, entire and unimpeached. A people who live hardly, have little correspondence with those who live better, and are not encouraged by their superiours to exert themselves for the change of their situation, are not like to make use of ports, however convenient; and to those who from experience thoroughly know the value of such natural advantages, they have hardly been yet properly discovered. But after all, these, though very untoward, are but accidental impediments, which may be easily removed. In most parts the mountains give evident marks of iron, lead, and copper; in some, as I have been informed, of coals. In other parts good timber, such as oak and witch-elm, is not at all scarce (*o*). Some grain they have, but it is often obtained by digging of small pieces of tolerable soil, which they could render far more profitable, than with all their labour they now do, if either their own mines were opened, or they allowed to import coals duty-free, to burn lime-stone, for meliorating those lands; of which stone they have plenty (*p*). Black cattle, sheep, and goats, are the sole riches of the inhabitants; and these indeed are there in abundance. Their lochs would afford them very lucrative fisheries; more especially if they were instructed to make their own boats, sails, ropes, Iron-work, nets, casks, and salt; all of which are certainly in their power. The people are robust, active, patient of fatigue, and though

(*m*) The true extent of the proposition maintained by me is, that if such places are not fully and completely improved, the fault must lie in the inhabitants, or their government; but then this fault may be certainly removed.—(*n*) This disposition, however, is by no means general, having been assisted in this very part of my work by memoirs for promoting industry to the utmost extent in those countries, drawn by gentlemen of distinguished families, and independent fortunes.—(*o*) J. Lessæi Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ Descriptio, p. 24—27. Sir James Dalrymple's Edition of Camden's Description of Scotland, p. 187—199. D'Audiffret Histoire et Géographie ancienne et moderne, tom. i. p. 258—261.—(*p*) This, from his own observation, and the information also given him by the natives, was very kindly communicated to me by Mr. Mackenzie, whom I have before cited.

hitherto unacquainted with industry, because strangers to the fruits of it, yet by no means of a lazy disposition. We propose nothing impracticable, therefore, in recommending these regions to a thorough cultivation, from the attention and assistance of the legislature; and that the public would be sufficient gainers, by any expense that might be requisite for that purpose, we have already shown (*q*); so that we need not repeat it here.

THE district of Cantire, which is often, though improperly, written Kintire, is, as the word in the old language of the country signifies, a peninsula, and is plainly the promontory called Epidion by Ptolemy (*r*). In point of form and situation it is truly singular. It is very near fifty English miles in length, from north to south; its greatest breadth at the northern extremity ten; its least at the southern between three and four miles. At the northern extremity it is connected with Knapdale, another district of the shire of Argyre, by a narrow rocky isthmus, called the Tarbat, about a mile broad. On the east lie the islands of Bute and Arran, between it and the continent of North Britain, from which it is removed about seven leagues. On the west the islands of Jura and Ilay, at the distance of four or five leagues, and Ireland to the south, but rather nearer (*s*). On the east side of Cantire, a few miles from its southern extremity, the sea forms a deep commodious bay, covered by a small island, and thereby offers a very safe and convenient harbour to the small capital of this region, called Campbelltown. It is, notwithstanding its admirable situation, the youngest of the royal burghs, and till of late but very inconsiderable (*t*). About ten years ago the inhabitants, encouraged by the bounties given, and the attention shown by the legislature to the fisheries, began seriously to regard the singular circumstances of advantage arising from the position of their town and port; and, in consequence of this, applied themselves to the herring, cod, and salmon fisheries, with such indefatigable diligence, that in the years 1752, 1753, 1754, they, one with another, acquired annually, by the sale of the several kinds of fish before-mentioned, and the bounties to which they became entitled, ten thousand pounds; which has given such a spirit to the people, that they have raised several public edifices, and made a quay at their own expense; and have built, and are building, many new stone

(*q*) The Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 217.—(*r*) Claud. Ptolemæi Geograph. lib. viii. Camdeni Britannia, p. 706. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 193. where we are told the true word is Pepidion.—(*s*) Buchananani rerum Scotticarum Hist. lib. i. where he observes the Tarbat is so low and flat, that the inhabitants draw their little vessels, called Birlings, over it, from sea to sea; which shows, that with most of the advantages of an insular situation, it has also a communication by land with the Continent; which, in some cases, may be a great convenience also.—(*t*) It became a royal burgh towards the latter end of the last century.—(*u*) I would not have asserted this, if I had not before me authentic certificates of the facts, from the custom-house books.

houses, and extending their commerce daily. This is mentioned particularly, to show the good effects those excellent laws have had, and how soon, when people are put into a right train, and have a reasonable prospect of being made gainers, they are excited to industry; which is less an advantage to themselves than to the community (*w*). This town is accounted a port in the sense of the custom-house, and has a proper establishment of officers, in that capacity, and eight creeks dependant upon it, as also officers for collecting the revenue arising from salt (*x*).

It is not simply the inhabitants of this royal burgh, or, as we would style it in England, corporation, who have found their account in this introduction of commerce; those who live in the adjacent country feel, as in such a case must ever happen, equal, if not superiour benefits. The convenience of a cheap and easy carriage to distant markets, has actually, within this short period, brought large tracts of land into cultivation, and has even produced some new husbandries; that is, new with respect to this region, and to these people; insomuch that, if I have not been greatly misinformed, the very freight of potatoes from Cantire, has amounted in some years to several hundred pounds. It will, however, be proper to remark, that in respect to every port like this, where the basis of the business carried on is fishing, their prosperity will be for some time precarious; since, if they are unlucky in that for a few years successively, which may very well fall out, they are sure to be distressed, and in no small danger of seeing the product of their past endeavours, as well as the bloom of distant hopes, blasted before their industry has laid a foundation wide enough to sustain their undertakings, independant of the original fund. To prevent this, which would be a real injury to the community, which is the chief gainer by their improvements, and must reap the profits of all their success, give me leave to suggest, that though now neglected, because they cannot be wrought to advantage, coals have been, and might be, raised here in great quantities. If therefore, for a short term, they were allowed to ship these duty-free to the north-west coast, where, as we have before observed, they might be employed in burning lime for meliorating the soil, this would be infinitely advantageous to both countries, without costing the public a single farthing. The people of Campbelltown could, and no doubt very soon would, boil salt sufficient for their own fisheries; and as in the north of England, where one species of industry has excited, and one manufacture made way for another, so here the navigation and commerce of this haven might be very

(*w*) They have adventured in the whale-fishing, and have shown such a commercial spirit as deserves to be supported.—(*x*) Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia. Crouch's Complete View of the British Customs, p. 386.

speedily put on a secure foot, the example would unquestionably operate where it is most wanted; and, of consequence, the happiness of the people, and the revenue of the government, would increase together. The visible augmentation of the latter proving, as in every well governed state it must ever prove, the clearest and the most authentic evidence of the former.

THERE is only one port more, that, on the plan of this chapter, it will be requisite to mention in this part of our island.

THE western extremity of the shire of Wigton, which shire is only the west part of the country of Galloway, forms a peninsula, resembling a crescent, or rather, as we before observed, an anchor, which is connected with the continent by an isthmus, about six miles in breadth from north to south; and this peninsula seems to be what Ptolemy called Novantum Chersonesus, having on one side Loch Rian, and on the other the bay of Glenluce (y). Up n the former of these bays, for such they are both, stands Stranraer, a royal burgh, and that port of which we promised to speak. It has a most convenient position, in respect to the great body of water it commands, and the country lieing round on every side; so that from the latter it derives a reasonable share of domestic trade; and some foreign commerce, as also a small intercourse with our North American colonies, from the former. Port Patrick, standing at a little distance to the West, immediately on the sea, is a member of this, with eight creeks belonging to it; and exclusive of these, there are two, which immediately depend on Stranraer, with a custom-house, and a proper establishment, and some officers also for the receipt of the revenue arising from salt (z). The peninsula before described, on which are Port Patrick, and all its creeks, may be from its northern horn, which is called Fairland Point, to the Mull of Galloway, its southern extremity, about thirty English miles in length, and from three to six in breadth, containing in the whole ninety square miles at least. In the old language of the natives it was called the Rinnes of Galloway; and though no way extraordinary in respect to soil, being hilly rather than mountainous, yet is not deficient in grain, abounds in grass, and consequently in sheep and black cattle *. But if any manufactures were introduced here, as there is room for many, and raw materials for several, the excellence of its situation, which is alike favourable for fishing, coasting, and foreign commerce, would quickly appear, and render this district, which is equal in size to Jersey and Guernsey, not inferiour to them in cultivation, produce, or

(y) See the Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 114.—(z) Additions to the English Translation of Camden's Britannia. Crouch's Complete View of the British Customs, p. 388.—* Jean. Lestæi Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ Descriptio, p. 8, 9. Buchanan's Rerum Scotticarum Hist. lib. i. Sir James Dalrymple's Description of Scotland, p. 60.

number of people ; to accomplish which salutary change, there are no other instruments requisite than industry and perseverance ; for were these once present, experience and emulation would quickly effect the rest.

It has been already observed in regard to Ireland, that it abounds with bays or harbours, made by the indentures of its coast ; of which, or at least of the most remarkable, we are to take notice. Let us then begin at the mouth of the Shannon, which is formed by two promontories ; that on the North called Cape Leane, or Loups Head ; this on the South Ballyheigh, or Kerry Head (*a*). On the Kerry side, about twenty-five miles from the sea, the Shannon being there near a mile broad, lies the Tarbet, a small but very safe and commodious bay, behind a little island, where ships may ride in about twelve fathom, safe out of the reach of the tide, take in their water, and be accommodated with pilots to Limerick (*b*). Without the mouth of the river, having doubled Kerry Head, we meet with a large wide body of water, one side of which bears the name of Ballyheigh, and the other that of Tralee Bay. The former a very dangerous, the latter by no means a safe station ; though from its appearance, and mistaking Kerry Head for Cape Leane (which is much lower land), ships enter here sometimes, at their great risk, supposing it the Shannon (*c*). At the bottom of this bay, at the distance of a mile, stands the town of Tralee or Traleigh, on a small river, as the name signifies ; Tra implying Strand, and Leigh is the name of the stream ; which, though the chief place in this county, has a port only for fishing sloops, and is of no great consequence.

A LITTLE to the west lies Brandon Bay, which derives its name from a very high mountain on the west side. On the east is a flat low land, called Magheriebeg, off which are seven small islands, called the Hogs. There is not either safe anchorage or tolerable shelter in this bay for any vessel, and therefore it ought to be carefully avoided (*d*). The next is Smerewick, contracted, or rather corrupted, from St. Mary Wyck's Bay, which lies from north to south, which is deep, and there is good anchorage every-where ; but it is open to north and to west winds. The Spaniards landed here in 1579, and for their own security erected some works, to which they gave the name of the Fort del Ore, and from which they were driven by the earl of Ormond and Sir

(*a*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 736. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. vii. p. 18. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, p. 209. 362.—(*b*) This place, formerly a village, has now a market and fairs ; and being

admirable situated for commerce, is of late much embellished, and is improving every day.—(*c*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. vi. p. 29. Present State of Ireland, p. 29. Smith's ancient and present State of the County of Kerry, p. 361, 362.—(*d*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 737. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 23. Smith's ancient and present State of the County of Kerry, p. 361.

William Pelham (*e*). Between the harbour of Smerewick and Ferriters Cove the land lies low, and hath been much covered with sand by the sea and wind of late years. This isthmus is hardly a mile broad, is growing narrower every winter; and the country it now unites to the continent will probably become an island (*f*). There are three remarkable hills on this land, near the coast, which seamen call the Three Sisters.

THE great Blasquet Island, opposite to this place, is by tradition reported to have been formerly joined to the continent; and the country people shew an old ditch, which they say points to an opposite one at Dunmore, or Dunmore head, the most western point of Ireland, and, of consequence, of Europe. The sound between that island and the main land is of a great depth, and, which sufficiently accounts for it, the currents of both ebb and flood set through it with prodigious rapidity (*g*). It was here that on September the 10th, 1588, a ship of the Spanish Armada, of the burden of a thousand tons, suffered shipwreck, one person only escaping; and two others are thought to have perished not far from thence (*h*). Ventry or Fintry Bay is open, and much exposed to southerly winds; however, there is a sufficient depth of water in any part of it for vessels to anchor; nor is there any danger, but what is apparent in the entrance (*i*).

HALF a league to the east of Fintry lies Dingle harbour, scarce a quarter of a mile broad at the entrance, with about thirty feet water; but it is much wider within, and landlocked from all winds. It was formerly a place of more trade than at present; and before the reign of queen Elizabeth it is affirmed there was a Spanish factory here, and that the merchants residing therein bought their commodities from the natives, and sent them home on board their own vessels (*k*). Dingle, or rather Castlemain Bay, is extremely wild and dangerous, and many shipwrecks have happened there. The island of Valencia lies on the south side of it, and is about

(*e*) Camdeni Annal. Eliz. p. 334—339. Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, P. ii. Book i. chap. i. p. 4. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, p. 186, 187.—(*f*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 139. Cutler's Coasting Pilot. p. 24. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, p. 183, 187, 360.—(*g*) The Irish appellation *Blaose*, which signifies scale or hull, shows plainly that, in their opinion, this islet was scaled or slipped off the main land of Ireland.—(*h*) Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, P. ii. Book i. chap. i. p. 8. Certain advertisements out of Ireland, concerning the losses and distresses which happened to the Spanish Navy, upon the west coasts of Ireland, in their voyage, intended from the Northern Isles beyond Scotland towards Spain, London. 1588. 4to. p. 1. Stowe's Annals, p. 748, 749.—(*i*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. 7. p. 19. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 24. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, p. 180.—(*k*) This is the constant tradition in the country, authenticated by the buildings in the Spanish manner, other marks of their magnificence, and ancient deeds which mention their residence here.

five miles long, making one side of a very fair and safe harbour, between it and the main; the sea running very high, like a river, about half a mile broad (*l*). In Cromwell's time there were two good forts upon it; and as the island is extremely fertile, might be much improved, and made very useful to commerce, it deserves more regard than has been shown it at any time since, or is at present; for as to the port of Castlemain, it is fit only for small vessels, and that place no better than a village (*m*). St. Finian's Bay is by no means proper for ships to lie in, as there is, for the most part, a tempestuous rolling sea; and Ballinskelig's Bay is not much better (*n*). There are, however, several safe and commodious creeks in what is called, with very little propriety, Kenmare River, as may be seen in a very correct description of it, to which we shall refer; as it would take up too much room to mention them particularly here (*o*).

THESE numerous inlets are all in a state of nature, and of consequence but indifferently adapted to the service of navigation; to which, however, they might be better disposed, if, by an alteration of circumstances, the inhabitants were excited to exercise their skill, and their endeavours for that purpose. Yet even as they now stand, the Tarbet, at the North end of the county, the ports of Smerewick and Dingle on the West, and the deep Bay of Kenmare on the South, with the commodious island port of Valencia, are more than enough to invite them to exert their industry, which would at once augment their happiness, and increase their number, diminished at present by multitudes going abroad in search of employment; especially as they are far from wanting materials to work upon, and stand therefore in need of encouragement and information (*p*).

THE county of Kerry, is, in point of size, the fourth in Ireland, and inferior only to Cork, of those which lie in the province of Munster; or, to make its importance yet more sensible, not much less than Somersetshire, pretty nearly equal

(*l*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 737. Cutler's Coastling Pilot, p. 24. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, p. 356—393.—(*m*) These improvements may, with greater probability, be now expected, as this island is become the property of the Right Honourable the Earl of Shelburne, whose ancestors, both by the father's and mother's side, have been the most eminent benefactors to, and considerable improvers of, this county.—(*n*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 139. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. v. sect. 6. p. 47. Cutler's Coastling Pilot, p. 24.—(*o*) Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, p. 350—357. Which description is accurate, entertaining, and useful.—(*p*) These helps will be necessary at the beginning; but when once experience enters the school, and gives one man the intelligible lesson, from another's practice, that will afford encouragement and information both, provided suitable markets are opened, and due regard had to commerce; without which industry cannot proceed beyond a certain degree.

to Cumberland, but not altogether so populous (*q*): Rough and wild in its present situation, though it was not always so; and is even now in a state of recovery, from the condition in which it was left by the last civil war. In point of natural riches, to say nothing of its Amethysts, the bowels of the earth produce clays, marles, and ochres of many different sorts; coals, though not wrought, from the vast abundance of turf; limestone, freestone, and marble of various kinds, very beautiful, and of great value: plenty of iron ore, many veins of lead, and some of copper (*r*). Heretofore it was extremely well stocked with timber, till exhausted, through want of management, by the iron works. There is in it a great deal of land fit for hemp, and some for flax: the introducing either of which would be a most useful improvement. That part of it next to the county of Cork furnishes fat cattle; and the West may be justly styled, and is very profitable as, a breeding country (*s*). But though now so much turned to pasturage, yet formerly there was a great quantity of grain produced, and the soil is still as capable as ever of being made arable again; which if it was, and the linen manufacture better established, with the revival of fisheries, decayed chiefly through want of timber to build vessels of any tolerable size, the inhabitants might certainly avail themselves of their situation, and become once more rich, by renewing their correspondence with Spain; for which commerce their commodities, and their ports are equally well adapted (*t*).

WE come next to the Bays in the county of Cork. The first of these is Bearhaven, or Beerhaven; so denominated from Bear Island, which is about six miles long. On the West side the passage between this isle and the Continent is about an English mile broad; the passage on the East is something broader (*u*). Immediately before the island there is from ten to sixteen fathom water; in the East passage from thirty to forty fathom; and still further up the Bay, towards the Island

(*q*) According to Mr. Smith's account, there are in Kerry 1,030,193 English acres, and (A.D. 1754) 10,228 houses. According to Dr. Halley, Somersetshire contains, 1,075,000 acres; and according to Mr. Haughton, (A.D. 1693) 49,808 houses. Cumberland, by the same accounts, has 1,040,000 acres, and 14,825 houses.—(*r*) Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Kerry, chap. iv. xiii. xv.—(*s*) This accounts for its being so thinly peopled, that again for the want of all improvements, and both for the actual poverty of its inhabitants, in the midst of their natural riches.—(*t*) Copses, properly cut, would pay a good rent for the time allowed for a proportionable quantity of trees to become timber; the reviving the iron works (for now, as in Argyleshire, they smelt only English ore), would maintain numbers, and this would create a demand for bread and fish, as well as cattle.—(*u*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. 2. sect. viii. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 24. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Cork, vol. i. p. 291. vol. ii. p. 296.

of Whiddy, from fifteen to twenty-five fathom (*w*). Between the South side of the last-mentioned island and the Continent is the road for ships, from twenty-four to forty feet water. There is not perhaps in the world a finer Bay than this; being twenty-six miles long, and from three to five broad. The whole of this capacious and commodious Frith is styled indifferently Bantry Bay, or Beer Haven, though the village of Bantry lies off the North-East point of Whiddy; which has in it a very fine park, and some other improvements. The tides move very gently, right in and out, through the whole bay. Above Bear Island, which defends them from the South-West winds, ships ride perfectly safe and quiet. At the very extremity of the Bay, are two safe, though less spacious harbours: that of Glengariff, so called from a village of the same name, on the North-West; and that of Whiddy, so denominated from that island, though, besides this, there are four small islands, which yield most excellent pasture (*x*).

BETWEEN the promontory of Sheep's Head, which makes the East side of the Bay last-mentioned, and Three Castle Head, is included Dunman's Bay, running far into the country, easy of entrance, which affords safe anchoring; in all respects a very noble port, and would be much frequented, if Bantry Bay were not so near it (*y*). The promontory which forms the West side of the Inlet, of which we have been last speaking, terminates in a kind of half moon, of which, as Three Castle Head makes one point, so Mizen Head, the Notium, that is, the South Cape of Ptolemy, makes the other; which is now very justly reputed the South-West extremity of the Continent of Ireland (*z*). A little within this lies Crook Haven, which, in any other country except Ireland, and, one might perhaps add, in any other part of Ireland than the county of Cork, would be esteemed an admirable port, being of a tolerable size, land-locked on every side, and having from eighteen to twenty feet water before the town (which, with all these advantages, is no more than a fishing village) having an easy outlet for ships, and good anchoring ground, and much deeper water in the road at its entrance (*a*). From the Mizen Head to Cape Clear, the course is East by

(*w*) It was in this Bay admiral Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, engaged a French fleet of twenty-eight sail, exclusive of fireships, April 29th, 1689, with great bravery and conduct, and, though much inferior in strength, with very small loss.—(*x*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. ix. p. 21. Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 24. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Cork, vol. i. p. 294.—(*y*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 139. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. 10. p. 21. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Cork, vol. i. p. 284. vol. ii. p. 295.—(*z*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 738. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. vi. p. 39. Smith's ancient and present State of the county of Corke, vol. i. p. 284.—(*a*) Camdeni Hibernia, fol. 139. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. x. p. 22. Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Cork, vol. i. p. 284. vol. ii. p. 295.

North, four leagues. This cape is an island of the same name, though it ought to be styled the Isle of St. Clara; and this Headland is the most southern point of Ireland (*b*). East from this Cape lies the Peninsula of Baltimore, which makes one side of a spacious Bay, in which there are many inlets and little ports, several of which are capable of being rendered useful, which it would detain us too long to consider in detail. It may suffice therefore to say that Baltimore Haven, in its present state, is not in that capacity very considerable, or of much consequence to the town, which however was once in far better circumstances, till by a most extraordinary event, that of being taken and plundered on the 20th of June 1631, by the Algerines, this unfortunate Mart was so thoroughly ruined, and the terrour spread thereby subsisted so long, and deterred people from settling there so much, that the place never recovered (*c*).

THE next is Castlehaven, called by the Irish Glanbarrassane, and by the Spaniards Porto Castello, the western entrance of which is called Galleon Point, from some Spanish Galleons that were destroyed there by admiral Levison, December 6, 1601. It is about half a mile over, the channel bold and deep, gradually decreasing from thirty to about fourteen feet water, at low tide (*d*). To the Eastward of this lies the Haven of Glendore, the western point of which is Ringreney, and the eastern point Carigully; between both is a small island called Adam's Isle, and beyond it another, called Hurdle Isle. In the channel, which runs by the West side of the island, there are from thirty to fourteen feet water; and a ship, being once in, may bring to, and lie safe from all winds (*e*). The harbour of Ross, to the East of this, was formerly very famous; so that Ross-Carbery became both a bishop's see, and a celebrated university. But, the port being gradually filled up with sand, the place sunk from its former grandeur; and though it still retains the title of a bishopric, it is in reality no more than a decayed or decaying monument of its deserted harbour (*f*). Court Macsherry is a barred port, in a bay of the same name, on which there are not above ten feet water. It was, in early times, deeper and safer, much frequented by the Spaniards, and the towns that lie about it were then in a better condition than

(*b*) Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 25. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 24. Present State of Ireland, chap. x.—(*c*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. x. p. 22. Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 25. Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Cork, vol. i. p. 278.—(*d*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. ii. p. 23. Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 25. Moryson's Itinerary, P. ii. B. ii. chap. ii. p. 158.—(*e*) Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Cork, vol. i. p. 270. vol. ii. p. 290.—(*f*) Camden's Hibernia, p. 738. Hammer's Chronicle, p. 53. It is now a market town, and of very little note.

now they are (*g*). We have passed by many creeks and coves that might have been described; and we have spoken of some, that, in their present situation, are not very remarkable. It is however to be considered, that they are all in a rude state of nature; so that many of them are in a capacity of being improved (*h*). If at the same time that he reflects on this, the reader will also be pleased to recollect the several noble and commodious ports which are described in the former chapter, he will see how strong an instance the county of Cork affords of the numerous maritime advantages resulting from the peculiar disposition of its coast, which reaches upwards of an hundred miles (*i*).

THE extent of the sea-coast of the county of Waterford, which, from Ardmore Head to Hooke Tower, may be about twelve leagues, is in effect a spacious Bay, and the ground mostly clean and sandy, which, with the gentleness of the tides and currents, has been, with some probability, assigned as the reason why the fishing thereon is as good as in any part of Ireland (*k*). There are however few or none of those ports which, in this chapter, it is our business to describe, though many headlands and inlets between that seem to promise them. Whiting Bay is small and convenient, but frequented only by fishing boats. Ardmore is a bold high promontory, and gives name to a bay, where there is a good road in seven or eight fathom water (*l*). Between Minehead and Helvock Head there is a pretty bay for fishing boats. Between Ballyvoil Head and Dungarvan Harbour lies a moderately deep and broad opening, called Clonea Bay, from a castle of the same name, standing a little within it. This has a sandy bottom, with a bar at its entrance, quite dry at low water, and can be of little or no service to any kind of vessel. The coast from hence eastward is high and rocky, with very small bays, of use only to fishing-craft (*m*). Between Newtown and Brownstown Head, which are about two English miles asunder, lies the wide open Bay of Tramore, which is remembred here only that it may be avoided; for in hazy weather, when Hooke Tower cannot be seen, this, to

(*g*) Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Cork, vol. i. p. 249—254. vol. ii. p. 288.—(*h*) As the spirit of improvement prevails strongly in this country, and as all improvements in an island naturally terminate in commerce, there is no doubt that persons of property will by degrees see the necessity of restoring old harbours, and the expediency of opening new, as the only means that can render such improvements universally advantageous.—(*i*) Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Cork, vol. ii. p. 283—298.—(*k*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 740, 741. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. viii. p. 32. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 25.—(*l*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 139. Present State of Ireland, chap. vii. p. 453. Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, chap. xxxii. p. 202.—(*m*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iv. sect. vi. p. 40. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 25. Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Waterford, chap. x.

the destruction of many vessels, has been mistaken for the mouth of Waterford Haven (*n*). We have given an account of this harbour in the former chapter; and have nothing to add farther, than that, in conjunction with Youghall, at the other extremity of the county, it may very well answer all the purposes of foreign commerce in respect to this county, and thoroughly improve it (*o*): More especially as the port of Dungarvan is extremely well seated for becoming the staple of the fishing trade; which, if the informations we have received of the Nymph Bank be true, and the fisheries here were put under proper regulations, and effectually encouraged, might afford such a reward to the industry of the inhabitants, as would leave them no room to envy the lot of any of their neighbours (*p*).

THE large, fruitful, and populous province of Leinster, though it contains five maritime counties, and thirty leagues of coast, can hardly boast of one good port (*q*). The Bay of St. Margaret's, which lies a little to the North of Waterford Haven, is frequented only by fisher boats. Beyond this lies Carnesore, or, as some call it, Carneroot Point, which is thought the most to the South-East of any land in Ireland: to the North of which we find Greenore or Grenore Bay, which is of no great consequence, and lies a very little South of Wexford Haven, which has been described in the former chapter (*r*). Arklow is the next, upon a little river of the same name, which is thought to be the Oboca of Ptolemy (*s*). In ancient times, it seems, this was a considerable port; and even in the last age it was in some estimation, though at present it scarce deserves that name (*t*). There is a small river, which possibly might, with some expense, be made to contribute to its improvement (*u*). Wicklow is under the same circumstances, though in a little, and but a little, better condition; yet having a tolerable inland trade, it is probable, that whenever industry shall render its inhabitants wealthy, they may discover the means,

(*n*) Above the Bay lies what is called the Strand of Tramore, containing about two thousand acres, which might be recovered, by running a bank or dyke across it; and if this was once done, possibly a port might be made by art.—(*o*) Almost the whole commerce of this county at present consists in the exportation of provisions and raw commodities; but when manufactures shall be once introduced, and brought to thrive, things will soon change their face.—(*p*) Doyle's Account of the Nymph Bank. Dobb's Essay on the Trade of Ireland, P. ii. p. 125. Smith's ancient and present State of the county and city of Waterford, p. 249—259.—(*q*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 744. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 140. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iv. sect. iii. p. 36.—(*r*) Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, P. iii. B. iii. chap. v. p. 157. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. vii. p. 31. Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 19, 20.—(*s*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 749. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 186.—(*t*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. vi. p. 29. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 20. Present State of Ireland, chap. vi.—(*u*) If by this, or any other means, the Haven could be rendered more commodious, there are some safe sandy roads near it where ships of considerable burden might ride.

and be able to afford the charge, of improving their port.

THE county of Dublin has only the bay of the same name; which has been already described. Drogheda bay, which is in truth the mouth of the river Boyne, and which has been likewise already mentioned, lies between the counties of Eastmeath and Louth; though the town which gives name to it, belongs to neither (*w*). The broad open bay of Dundalk may, when it is high water, be considered in the light of an harbour, and as such, is of some use to the town of the same name; of late, we are told, rendered more so than formerly, and in a fair way of meeting with still farther improvements. But when the tide is out it is absolutely dry, and may be passed, on foot, without either difficulty or danger (*x*). The town of Carlingford, which has a good inland trade, and some commerce, stands upon a bay of the same name, which not only divides the counties of Louth and Down, but the provinces also of Leinster and Ulster. This is a safe, large, and convenient port, though not much frequented on account of its troublesome entrance, having foul ground and dangerous rocks on both sides, but with a fair channel between, half a league over. On the bar there are ten feet at low water; but within, from seven to twenty fathom. In the road before the town there is safe riding in almost any depth; neither does a ship risk any thing by running on the soft Ooze, where she may sit safe, without anchor or cable. There is plenty of Cod, and excellent oysters are caught here; and there are also some Salt-works (*y*). Thus it appears, that these ports, such as they are, are very equally divided amongst the several counties; and as the spirit of cultivation, and the desire of making the most of natural advantages, prevail strongly amongst their inhabitants, as they have more acquaintance with, and better opportunities of knowing the value of, commerce, than in other parts of this island; and as they have also the seat of government in their centre, we may rationally expect that, in process of time, several of these may be rendered better, and some new ones perhaps opened (*z*).

THE province of Ulster comprehends four maritime counties, and has a sea coast of an hundred leagues. Point Cranfield makes the east side of Carlingford bay; and from thence to Bealachaneir, coasting along the mountainous country of Mourne, there are only a few creeks, capable of receiving

(*w*) See the Political State of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 253. 254.—(*x*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. iii. p. 26. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 23. See the ingenious Mr. Wright's Preface to the LOUTHEANA.—(*y*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 762. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. ii. p. 11. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 23.—(*z*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 744—755. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 22. Dobbs's Essay on the Trade of Ireland, P. i. p. 16, 17. P. ii. p. 5. 7.

nothing beyond the size of a fishing boat (*a*). Between that and St. John's point lies the bay of Dundrum; spacious indeed, being six miles broad, but shallow and sandy. The inner bay, which is three miles in extent one way, and a full mile the other, is a very safe convenient port, but then only small vessels can come thither; and Dundrum is no more than a pleasant village (*b*). In the outer bay there is very good fishing for flat fish of all kinds, sea trout, and lobsters, which might be managed to great profit (*c*). The Foreland, or point of St. John, which is the *Isamnum Promontorium* of Ptolemy, stands a mile south of a little bay, which is now called Port St. Anne, and is come in the place of the old Haven of Ardglaf. This has been, with great care and expense, improved with a Key and Basen, by Michael Ward esq; one of the justices of his majesty's court of king's bench, and thereby rendered a secure and commodious harbour for vessels of one hundred and fifty tuns (*d*). In consequence of this, the village of Killough is risen, in the space of a few years, into a thriving well-built town, in which several merchants reside; while Ardglaf, about a mile distant from it over the strand, which was not only an ancient corporation, but the second town at least in Ulster, is sunk into a miserable hamlet, and is now remarkable for nothing but a few wretched remains of its former magnificence (*e*). This shows what may be done, even by private persons of opulent fortune, not only for their own benefit, and that of their families, but for the public emolument, and the advantage of the whole country.

THE land stretching from Ardglaf north-north-east, for about five miles or thereabouts, we there find Killard point, which is the south-west extremity, as Quintin point is the opposite extremity, of Strangford bay (*f*). This bay, or rather strait (for the sea runs through it with great rapidity like a sluice), is upwards of five miles long, and somewhat more than half a mile broad. On the south side lies the town and harbour of Strangford, where ships may lie safe out of the reach of the current, as they may likewise in Audley bay, which is directly under Castle Ward, a fine seat belonging to

(*a*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 762. Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, P. iii. B. iii. chap. v. p. 158. Present State of Ireland, ch. p. iv.—(*b*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. iv. p. 27. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 21. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 139.—(*c*) It may deserve some consideration, whether this bay has been always in the same condition. For though it is ever dangerous to encroach upon the sea, yet to recover what it has over-whelmed, is safe and advantageous.—(*d*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 767. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 140. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 16. 23. 128.—(*e*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 767. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. sect. iv. p. 27. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 20. 267. 271.—(*f*) Moryson's Itinerary, P. iii. B. iii. ch. v. p. 159. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. iii. p. 12. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 136.

the judge before-mentioned (*g*). On the opposite side also there are some Havens, of which the best is Portaferry in the Ardes; between which and Strangford there is a ferry, which maintains a regular correspondence between the Peninsula last-mentioned and that of Lecale. This bay opens into the great lough Conne, or lake of Strangford, which runs directly North up to Newton, and sends a small branch to the West, on which stands the city of Downpatrick, the capital of the county, a parliamentary borough, and in effect the port upon this great body of water; for though Strangford has the title, yet the collector resides here, and keeps only a clerk there (*h*). Vessels of fifty tuns come up to the quay at King's Weston, about a mile from the city; and the customs and excise amount annually to about eight thousand pounds.

CONNIE is the largest salt water lough in Ireland; the tide flowing directly up from Strangford to Newton thirteen miles, affording several pleasant and useful creeks on both sides, and covering upwards of twenty-five thousand plantation acres (*i*). In their proper seasons there is a profitable Herring, and many other valuable fisheries, on this lake; in which, as we have elsewhere observed, there are a multitude of islands, which maintain large herds of cattle, great numbers of horses, and upon which immense quantities of fowl are raised. Besides all this, they have, of late years more especially, converted abundance of their sea ware into Kelp, which, for the use of the glass houses, they send to Dublin, and other places, where it not only fetches a very good price, and is therefore valuable as a manufacture, but, from its bulk and annual exportation, is also very serviceable to navigation; and in conjunction with the other produce and manufactures of the countries on both sides the lake, has, within the memory of man, raised several small villages into large and populous towns (*k*).

FROM Point St. Quintin to Bryal Point the land runs North-East, but from Bryal Point to Donaghadee it runs North, slanting to the West, and a very foul coast all the way. Donaghadee is the station of the Scotch packet, passing from thence to Port Patrick in Galloway, which lies thirty miles to the North-East. There is a very good stone quay at this place, where vessels of considerable burden may ride in safety. The principal commerce between the two countries consists in horses, and, according as seasons hit or fail, provisions; and it would certainly be for their mutual

(*g*) There is likewise another called Audley Castle, built upon a rocky Promontory, commanding a prospect of the lake in its full extent quite up to Newton, and is one of the finest water views in Ireland—(*h*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. iii. p. 12. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 121. Present State of Ireland, chap. viii.—(*i*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 767. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ix. sect. iii. v. p. 73, 74. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 152, 153, 154.—(*k*) See the Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 124.

benefit, if this commerce was put upon some better foot than that on which it stands at present (*l*). At a small distance are the Copland islands, three in number, one inhabited, another having on it a light-house, and the third affording grass for horses, and abundance of sea fowl. We come then to Graham's Port, Portavo, and Bangor, anciently famous for its noble abbey, all upon the South side of the entrance of Carrickfergus bay (*m*). The county of Down, in point of extent, is equal to the county of Leicester, or that of Nottingham, but is more populous than either (*n*); yet, in general, the soil is not remarkably rich or fertile; so that the situation of the country, and the industry of its inhabitants, have made it all it is. The lake and the sea yield plenty, and a great variety, of fish. The mountains feed black cattle and sheep. By the help of Marl and sea ware their lands, many of them very unpromising, produce, not crops only, but large crops, of different kinds of grain; and the manufacture, thoroughly diffused, affords a comfortable subsistence to those who are unfit for harder labour (*o*).

THE county of Antrim, somewhat larger in extent, though not quite so populous as that of Down, is divided from it by the bay of Carrickfergus, that is, the Craig or Rock of Fergus, which is about two leagues broad from the island of Magee to Bangor (*p*). This, in all probability, is the Vinderius of Ptolemy, and in North Britain would be styled a Firth (*q*). The town from which it takes its name is very well seated on the North shore, about six miles from the mouth of the bay, having a good road before it, with a pier near the place, within which vessels lie dry at low water. It was anciently a borough of great consequence, as appears from the mayor's being admiral of a considerable extent of coast, as well in Down as in this county; the corporation enjoying the customs paid by all vessels within those bounds; the creeks of Bangor and Belfast only excepted (*r*). This grant, as we have before remarked, the crown repurchased, and thereupon transferred the custom-house to Belfast, to which town it is now much inferior, as well in size as in trade. It is however still a place of note, as being no longer

(*l*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. §. vii. p. 31. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 21. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 65. 135. 269.—(*m*) The Duke of Schomberg landed, August 13, 1689, in Graham's or Groom's Port Bay, with ten thousand men for the reduction of Ireland.—(*n*) The county of Down contains 553,289 English acres, Leicester and Nottingham about 560,000 acres each.—(*o*) Present state of Ireland, chap. viii. Dobbs's Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, part i. p. 32. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, chap. iii. §. ix. p. 107.—(*p*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 768. Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. b. iii. chap. v. p. 159. Dobbs's Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, part ii. p. 5.—(*q*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 768. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 251. Vinderius, the latinising these British words Vind e Riū, the head of the river, the Æstuarium, or Firth.—(*r*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. §. ii. p. 13. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 21. The ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 127.

a borough but a county of itself, and sending, in that capacity, two members to the Irish house of commons (*s*).

Two leagues North from Carrickfergus lies the small port of Oldfleet, little frequented at present. Beyond this there is a bold coast and safe anchoring to the height of Fairland Point, styled in some charts Fair Head, the North-East Cape of Ireland; and there is good anchorage round the island of Rathlin, and also between it and the continent (*t*). A little to the South of this lies Ballycastle, a new port, which deserves peculiar attention. It owed its rise to a vein of coal, discovered and wrought here by Hugh Boyd, esq; who, in 1749, after several years labour, finished a harbour and dock, at his own expence, capable of receiving vessels of one hundred and fifty tons; which, however, in a few years was ruined by worms eating the wood work under water (*u*). At first colliers were procured from England and Scotland; but this being attended with many inconveniencies, the method of engaging men to labour, by bestowing premiums, was tried, and succeeded with the natives, of whom about one hundred and sixty are now employed, and about seven thousand ton of coal raised in a year. In consequence of this discovery and these improvements, a glass-house, bleach-house, salt-works, brewery, tan-yard, and iron works, were established there in seven or eight years; and several merchants settled in the place, who drove a great trade, and had many vessels of their own (*w*). Upon the ruin of the pier and dock, in the manner before-mentioned, Mr. Boyd began new works of stone, cramped with iron, which indeed promised security, but were very expensive. This produced an application to parliament, where, upon a strict examination, all these facts were reported by a committee, and that the Haven might be again rendered complete and commodious for less than ten thousand pounds (*x*).

BELLE TREE, Ballintay, or Ballintoy, lies a little to the south-west of the last-mentioned port, is a small bay, and, in its natural state, not altogether safe from several winds (*y*): But since the year 1756, that a vein of coals was discovered near it (which is now wrought with such effect, as not only to supply a salt-work here, but two others, one at Portrush,

(*s*) Political Survey of Great Britain, p. 257. Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 103. 205. Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia.—(*t*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. §. vii. p. 31. chap. v. §. v. p. 46. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 22. Present State of Ireland, chap. xi.—(*u*) The reader will discern from this instance, how numerous the Havens on this coast may become, whenever commerce prevails.—(*w*) The same effects follow the discovery of coals in Antrim as in Northumberland, Cumberland, and in Wales.—(*x*) From the report made to the house of commons in Ireland by Mr. Lowther, February 3d, 1758.—(*y*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. §. iv. p. 27. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 22.

and the other at Colerain, it is somewhat improved, and more considered; infomuch that, in the sessions of the parliament of Ireland, in 1758, the state of this little Haven being brought before a committee, it appeared that it was capable of receiving barks of fifty tuns, and for the expence of two thousand pounds might be rendered a good harbour for vessels of much larger burden (*z*). The Giants Causeway is a curiosity so very remarkable in its nature, that it ought not to be passed by in silence (*a*), though the description of it is not requisite in a work of this kind, and has been already the subject of several learned writers; to whose labours we refer *b*. Belfast, as standing on the Lagon water, belonged to the former chapter (*c*), and in that has been accordingly treated, as are also the ports of Colerain and Londonderry (*d*).

THE county of Donegal is equal in size to those of Down and Antrim taken together, and yet does not contain half the number of people there is in either (*e*). There are some black rocks, called Ensterhull, over against Enisthon, a promontory which shoots out into the sea, the extremity of which, called Caledagh Point, is the north cape of Ireland (*f*). To the west-south-west lies Lough Swilly, with great probability thought to be the Argita of Ptolemy, at this day one of the noblest ports in Ireland, or indeed in Europe, near twenty miles long, and a full mile broad, good anchorage and deep water; so that a whole fleet might lie there with ease and safety (*g*). West-south-west of Lough Swilly lies Sheepshaven, a very noble bay, though somewhat inferior to the former (*h*). The west entrance of this bay is called

(*z*) From the report made by Mr. Lowther the same day with the former, in regard to the port of Ballycastle.—(*a*) This Giants Causeway consists of many thousand pillars, standing perpendicular to the Horizon, so close that a knife can scarce be put between them. The greatest part of them are pentagonal or hexagonal, but irregular, so that none of them have equal sides. The curious agree that they are of the kind called Lapis Basanus, or Basalte. They run from the side of an high hill, nobody knows how far into the sea. This Causeway has been measured, at low water, more than six hundred feet; in the broadest part it extends two hundred and forty feet, and in the narrowest one hundred and twenty feet. The height in some places thirty-six, and in others fifteen feet.—(*b*) Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society, N°. cxcix. ccxii. ccxxv. ccxli. See also those papers printed in the appendix to Grierson's edition of Boate's Natural History of Ireland, and the translation of Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, by Walter Harris, esq; chap. xxxiv.—(*c*) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 257. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 24. Dobbs's Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, P. ii. p. 6.—(*d*) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 258, 259, 260.—(*e*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 772. Present State of Ireland, chap. viii. Dobbs's Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, P. ii. p. 6.—(*f*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iv. §. iv. p. 28. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 22.—(*g*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 772. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 24. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 23.—(*h*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. §. iv. p. 14. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 22.

Cape Horn, and from thence to the North Islands of Arran there is a safe coast, and several good roads and bays (*i*). Seven leagues from these Isles of Arran lies Cape Telin, or St. Helen, the North-West point of Ireland, and under it an Haven, with a good road of the same name (*k*). Four leagues beyond this Headland lies Killibegs, an excellent Bay, of a circular form, the entrance narrow, but free from danger, and capable of receiving ships of any burden; and when once in, ships may lie any where from six to eight fathom water, in perfect safety. This Haven has some trade, which is more than any of the rest can boast; and the town of the same name, which stands upon it, is a parliamentary Borough, and has a Custom-house (*l*). West from Killibegs lies Cape St. John; and between the Port last-mentioned and this Cape is Mackswaine Bay, dangerous at the entrance, but within very commodious (*m*). Two leagues beyond this lies Donegal Harbour, difficult likewise in the entrance, which has rendered it less frequented than otherwise it would have been (*n*). South-West of Donegal Haven, Lough-Earn pours into the ocean, and makes the Port of Ballyshannon, which, though a barred Port, has some commerce, and, in proportion as industry increases amongst the people in this extensive county, will have much more. We have already mentioned this Lough, and its famous Castle of Inniskilling; and shall therefore only observe, that the short river, if it may be so styled, which forms the Harbour of Ballyshannon, separates the Province of Connaught from that of Ulster (*o*). But, in respect to the latter, it may be proper to remark, before we leave it, that as the county of Fermanagh communicates with the ocean by the Port of Ballyshannon, and all the counties lying upon the Lough-Neagh have now a correspondence with the Irish Sea by the Newry Canal, Monaghan and Cavan are, strictly speaking, the only two inland counties in the province (*p*).

THE county of Sligo is small, but the best inhabited of any in Connaught, and the county in general very capable of improvement. West from Ballyshannon, at the distance of three leagues, lies a small island, called Ennis Murry; at the South end of which is a large rock above water, with a ledge running from it at a great distance into the sea; so

(*i*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. § viii. p. 32.—(*k*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 22.—(*l*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 772. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. § v. p. 15. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 24.—(*m*) Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 23.—(*n*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 772. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. § v. p. 16. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 24.—(*o*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. § v. p. 28. Present State of Ireland, chap. viii. Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 23.—(*p*) This demonstrates the vast utility of that great work, which as it will redound to the benefit, so it will be the admiration of posterity.

that

that to the South-West the coast is foul as far as Rala Point, South-East from thence lies the Haven of Sligo, the Libnius of Ptolemy, troublesome in the passage, but a tolerable port when once entered. There is a custom-house and some trade here, and the town is a parliamentary borough (*q*). South from Sligo is Clonick Bay, and West from thence Moyle Harbour, neither of them much frequented.

WE come now to the county of Mayo, which is thrice as large, though not near so well peopled as Sligo. It has a long extent of coast, fronting directly towards the North, in which there are many coves and bays that might be of use; but their particular conveniencies are at present known only to smuggling vessels, and the masters of custom-house boats, who are employed to look after them (*r*). Broadhaven, which expands itself near to the Western extremity, is a good port, though embarrassed on the East side with some small funk rocks, called the Stags of Broadhaven (*s*). On the back of the promontory, which forms one side of this, lies another, called Black-fod Harbour, of which I meet with no distinct account, though placed in all the maps. About eleven leagues from this port lies Achil Head, in an island, with a passage between it and the Main; so that it is properly a Sound, within which there are many Creeks and Inlets; but so unfrequented, and their state so uncertain, that, in a word like this, a description of them need not be attempted.

GALWAY is a very noble and spacious district, the largest in this province, and, except Cork, the county of greatest extent in Ireland; at the same time, after Donegal and Mayo, the thinnest in that kingdom of people. Yet the soil is good, and, in many parts, fertile in corn, as well as in grass; so that it is very capable of being made a fair and flourishing region; as, with these advantages, it may be affirmed to abound likewise in fine ports (*t*). From Point Dogs to Cape Slyne there are various Creeks, but none amongst them of any considerable size. To the South-East of the last-mentioned Headland there are several fine Inlets, particularly Batterby Bay, which has a narrow entrance, but within is four miles long and two broad, every where safe, good ground, deep water, five fathoms on each side, and from ten to twelve in the middle (*u*). Conichin Bay has, in the very

(*q*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 143. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iii. §. v. p. 29. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 152.—(*r*) These, in succeeding ages, will become sources of honest abundance, instead of receptacles of clandestine and destructive commerce, in which the necessaries of life are bartered for foreign wines and spirits.—(*s*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 758. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. ii. §. vi. p. 16. Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 23.—(*t*) Camdeni Hibernia, p. 757. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 143. Dobb's Essay on the trade and improvement of Ireland, p. 1. p. 5.—(*u*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. iv. §. v. p. 30. Cutler's coasting Pilot, p. 23.

mouth of it, from twelve to fifteen fathom water, and seven at the very bottom, but then the entrance is much embarrassed, and in that respect dangerous, till seamen in general shall become better acquainted with it (*w*). Galway bay is very capacious, having the South Arran islands before it, through which there is no less than four passages. There are various sands, shoals, and blind rocks, some of which are called the Stags of Arran, especially on the north side, but having so many outlets these are easily avoided; and if the country was more populous, many excellent harbours, besides these already in some small degree of use, might be made without any great expense (*x*).

GALWAY, which is not only the county town, but the capital of the province, has a mayor, sheriffs, recorder, town clerk, a custom-house, excise-office, with ample establishments, and sends two members to parliament. It is an handsome well-built place, and formerly accounted the second in Ireland, though now, as I take it, but the seventh (*y*). It stands upon the great lake of Corbes, which is the Aufoba of Ptolemy. The port is very commodious and safe, but at a distance from the city, so that goods are carried up thither by lighters. It has a considerable foreign commerce, as well as a great inland, and there is a good herring fishery in the bay (*z*). But after all, this is but little in comparison of what might be expected, and to what it will certainly attain, when this province shall be put upon a level with the rest; but as we have treated pretty copiously already upon this subject, we shall content ourselves with repeating our good wishes that this may be speedily brought about (*a*).

THE last we shall mention is the county of Clare, which is at present in the province of Munster, though Sir Robert Sidney annexed it to Connaught; but that it was anciently, as it now is, in the former province, appears from its other name of Thomond, that is, North Munster, being divided from the rest of that province by the Shannon, which is the reason of our placing it here (*b*). It is a Peninsula, in the form of a Pyramid, the basis making the isthmus, about half

(*w*) There are several among the islands not inferior to this bay, but it would swell this chapter too much to give a distinct account of them.—(*x*) Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*, chap. ii. §. vi. p. 16. *Present State of Ireland*, chap. v. xi. Cutler's *Coasting Pilot*, p. 23.—(*y*) *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 24. *Present State of Ireland*, chap. v. See also the additions to the English translation of Camden's *Britannia*.—(*z*) Baxteri *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, p. 30. Cutler's *Coasting Pilot*, p. 23. Dobbs's *Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland*, P. ii. p. 114.—(*a*) Camdeni *Hibernia*, p. 756. *Ora autem maritima multis sinibus, et navigabilibus alueis peruia accolat ad navigationes quodammodo inuitat et provocat, sed innatæ desidiæ dulcedo ita detinet, ut ostiatim malint victim quærere, quam honestis laboribus paupertatem repellere.*—(*b*) Camdeni *Hibernia*, p. 756. *Present State of Ireland*, chap. v. Dobbs's *Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland*, P. ii. p. 6.

the size of Galway, but better inhabited. The soil is good, the climate mild, and the situation excellent (*c*). The ocean bounds it on the north-west, where it has an extent of twenty leagues of coast, in which there are several creeks and bays, terminating with Cape Lean, rather Laine, which in Irish signifies a Sword-blade, or the Loup's Head, the north entrance of the river Shannon, by which it is washed upon the south-west for upwards of twenty leagues more. The town of Clare, from which it receives its name, is seated upon a large bay, full of small islands; and a little higher stands Ennis, a parliamentary borough. It is evident enough from hence, that no country can be better disposed for commerce; but we have not light sufficient to enter into a more particular description, which I should otherwise very willingly have given, and which defect the surveys that are now said to be making will, we have reason to expect, very quickly supply (*d*).

It is now presumed we have very fully proved the numerous benefits that the islands of Britain and Ireland derive from the particular structure of their coasts, and that they are not confined to particular parts, but either extended by nature, or by a wise policy may be extended, to every part of both. The many advantages arising to the countries adjacent to ports where a great commerce is carried on, the loss of those advantages whenever such ports decline, and the sudden and certain acquisitions that accrue from the reviving or opening of harbours, which have been for a long time unobserved or unemployed, have been historically asserted, and the causes so far explained, as thoroughly to unite the testimonies afforded us by reason and experience (*e*). It is possible some may think we have rather been too copious, and that fewer instances might have sufficed. Some may likewise object that the description of certain parts of the coast are dry and unentertaining; and this very objection will be made by others to the parts with which the former objectors are best pleased (*f*). The point was not to gratify any particular class of readers, but to use our utmost endeavours to satisfy all; and even where the description is least striking, the design of the chapter is, we also hope, best pursued, as exhibiting

(*c*) Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. xvi. §. v. p. 128. Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia.—(*d*) Sir William Monson, who was an excellent judge of these matters, recommended this one hundred and fifty years ago. He farther advised improving these Havens, building towns near, and encouraging the natives to apply themselves to fishing, navigation, and commerce, as the most effectual means of attaching them to the English government.—(*e*) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 304. 377. 313. where the amazing effects of the trade at Sunderland, the mischiefs attending the decay of Rye and Winchelsea, and the sudden and surprizing consequences that have followed the making so great improvements at Whitehaven, are presented to the reader's consideration.—(*f*) The producing a few, though these had been the most striking examples, might have excited a suspicion of partiality, would necessarily have left some material circumstances unexplained, and have exhibited no manner of proof, that all parts of Britain and Ireland may be rendered alike commercial, which is the principal point in view.

the deficiencies which are yet to be supplied, and the conquests that future industry is to make (*g*). It may be also surmised that there is a certain sameness in some of our accounts that might have been avoided, which is true (*b*). But, with regard to facts that are of the utmost importance, no advocate was ever censured for calling several witnesses, though they all of them spoke, and indeed must necessarily speak, much to the same purpose.

To deal with the public without reserve: the chief motive of our treating so circumstantially of the ports that already are, or may be hereafter, made, in both these chapters, was the desire of representing the capacity of these two islands for commerce, in the fullest and strongest light possible, so as to remove even the slightest doubt, by making it incontestably evident, that they are in all respects as well disposed for entertaining an universal correspondence with every part of the globe, as any of those islands were for attaining lesser proportions of maritime power and trade, which for that reason have been celebrated by writers ancient or modern, and of the most eminent of which we have from them succinctly treated (*i*). If, from the anxious assiduity used in these chapters, the subject shall be more clearly understood, and shall for the future merit greater attention, the pains that have been taken are very happily bestowed; for in effecting this, or even by so much as opening a way to its being effected, I am thoroughly satisfied a most essential service will be rendered to this nation, as nothing can contribute more to the advancing its power and prosperity to that sublime degree of perfection to which we have shown it is so admirably adapted, and for which we may thence conclude it is designed, and, if we co-operate in properly improving the blessings indulgently bestowed by providence, it may be speedily, as well as certainly, exalted.

THAT, after all, there may remain no latent suspicion of singularity in this notion, or apprehension of its being a conjectural hypothesis, I will produce the opinion of one of the best judges that ever wrote upon the subject. A man, whose immense fortune was the effect of his immense abili-

(*g*) By explaining in some degree the inexpressible benefits resulting from the care and cost expended in some places, and showing the difficulties that might be removed, and the disasters that might be redressed by embracing NATURE's kind offers, in many others, we have produced the most persuasive argument to the most noble undertaking, viz. the rendering these islands alike plentiful and populous throughout.—(*b*) In making it evident the coal trade has been equally advantageous on the East and West side of the coast of South Britain, in Wales, and is beginning to be so in Ireland, we have proved the propriety of encouraging the working and transporting, that, or any other commodity of the like nature, where-ever found, which a single, or even a double instance would not have done.—(*i*) See the third chapter of this book, in which, with a view to this application, that matter has been at large discussed.

ties, who spent his whole life in studies of this kind, and who was not more attentive to his private interest than to the public welfare. Thus then this great man speaks (k).

‘ THE sea-line of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the adjacent islands, is about three thousand eight hundred miles, according to which length, and the whole content of acres, the said land would be an oblong or parallelogram figure, of three thousand eight hundred miles long, and about twenty-four miles broad; and consequently every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is, one with another, but twelve miles from the sea: whereas France, containing but about one thousand miles of sea-line, is, by the like method of computation, about sixty-five miles from the sea-side; and considering the paucity of ports, in comparison of what are in the king of England’s dominions, as good as seventy miles distant from a port: upon which grounds it is clear that England can be supplied with all gross and bulky commodities, of foreign growth and manufacture, at far cheaper rates than France can be; viz. at about four shillings per cent. cheaper; the land-carriage for the difference of the distance between England and France from a port, being so much, or near thereabouts. Now to what advantage this conveniency amounteth, upon the importation and exportation of bulky commodities, cannot be less than the labour of one million of people, &c. meaning by bulky commodities, all sorts of timber, plank, and staves for cask; all iron, lead, stones, bricks, and tiles, for building; all corn, salt, and drinks; all flesh and fish; and indeed all other commodities, wherein the gain and loss of four shillings per cent. is considerable.

THE causes which this gentleman assigns, and the case he has stated by way of illustration, may well suffice towards making this topic equally clear and certain; though, if it were necessary, many more authorities and confirmations might be produced from a variety of works in different languages. But in reality this, like all other truths, being once fairly represented, brings with it such a weight of evidence to the mind of an impartial judge, that it would be equally tedious and troublesome to insist farther upon what, perhaps, nobody will deny.

(k) Sir William Petty’s *Essays in Political Arithmetic*, p. 238, 239.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE several islands that are scattered round BRITAIN another singular advantage. Their having been, many of them, so long neglected, no prejudice in respect to their capacity for improvement. The truth of which is as capable of support from history, as of being maintained by reason. This prerogative, hitherto, in a great measure unexerted, may be rendered highly beneficial to this country, in the present conjuncture more especially. The method in which this curious and copious subject will be treated.

THE happy disposition of our rivers, the advantageous form of our coasts, are, as we have seen, circumstances pregnant with variety of inestimable benefits to this country; but there still remains another prerogative less attended to than either of the former, probably because the consequences of it being not so apparent, have occasioned it to be less generally understood. This is the number of smaller islands, of very different sizes, that lie, some at a larger, some at a lesser distance from this; which therefore, in regard to them, may be considered as a CONTINENT. It was from hence the gravest authors of antiquity, using a figurative style, called BRITAIN, emphatically, the GREAT ISLAND, and ANOTHER WORLD, that is, another continent; and later writers, in the lofty language of the poets, style her QUEEN of the ISLES, which we shall endeavour to prove something more than a mere title (a). Though naturally, in most respects, equal, yet in a long course of years, rather from a concurrence of accidents than by any political contrivance, some of these isles, as we shall hereafter see, are wonderfully improved; though some are in a worse state at this day than old historians represent them to have been in remoter ages (b).

(a) Dion. Alex. in Orbis Descriptione, ver. 563, et seq. Arisides in Oratione Ægyptiacâ. The author of the book de Mundo, which has been ascribed to Aristotle, in his third chapter, where he tells us Albion and Ierne are called the British isles. C. Julii Solini Polyhistor, cap. xxv. The author of the Panegyric to Constantius, falsely inscribed to Maximinian, says, the dictator Julius Cæsar wrote to the senate he had found another world, which he thought of such extent, as that it might be, with greater propriety, said to be embraced than surrounded by the ocean. He must therefore have comprehended in this description all that depended on Britain. That this is more than a conjecture appears from one of our most ancient and authentic historians [Ethelwerdi Chronic. lib. iv. cap. iv.], who, speaking of a passage to Ireland, says, this island was, by the great Julius Cæsar, called Britannides. Ptolemy, on the same principle, calls Ireland little Britain.—(b) Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 209. Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 175, 176. iv. p. 201. Corn. Tacit. in Vita Julii Agricola. Plin. Hist. Natural. lib. iv. cap. 1. 6. Pompon. Mel. de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. vi. and many more who might be cited, who yet could have known nothing of these isles, if they had not been inhabited, and visited by traders in those times.

THE deduction manifestly flowing from hence is, that they may be all, through an assiduous and well conducted application, brought into the same happy condition. For it would be preposterous and absurd, while we maintain, as a principle of law, that no length of time can bar the right of the crown, to surmise that any period of inaction should, in policy, preclude the just claims of the nation. She, at present, enjoys the profits springing from the due employment of several of these HANDMAIDS, and has therefore reason to expect none of the rest should be left IDLE (c). The gifts of providence wear the stamp and cognizance of HIM from whom they come; and derive their excellence from the state in which he has placed them. It may be, in certain ages, the want of sufficient lights, the untoward situation of things, the misfortunes consequent from an ill adjusted or ill administered government, might render any attempts of this sort hopeless, if not fruitless (d). But such is the beneficence of the supreme power, that his blessings do not either perish or lose their value by not being employed. They remain, though they remain undiscerned in such days of darkness, and are reserved, as the hidden treasures of divine bounty, to reward the intelligent labours of those, who improve the talents they have received from the same hand, by the indefatigable study of his works.

WE have already represented, in the clearest terms we were able, the advantages inseparable from an insular situation, which, as we have shown from facts, and these, in political reasoning, are allowed to be that kind of evidence which is most incontestable, frequently balance, nay sometimes overcome, all the disadvantages of climate and of soil; and this to a degree that experience only could force us to think credible (e). It can therefore be no objection to this general doctrine, that all islands are capable of being converted into comfortable habitations, if those who dwell in them are under a wise government; that some of them have an unpromising appearance, much less that they have continued

(c) There is not an island, indeed scarce a rock, upon the coasts, which bears not visible marks of its being formerly inhabited. Was it, that the continent of Britain was then so full of people that they were under a necessity of settling these isles and islets? Or, was this country peopled from them? Or, had they better notions than we of the advantages resulting from their situation? At all events, if they were peopled, they may be again peopled.—(d) In times of general confusion, the remote parts of every empire decline first, and are last recovered. The civil dissensions in the government of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as might be easily proved from history, have been no less injurious to the countries than to the inhabitants. The Fens in the first, the Heaths and Moors in the second, and the Bogs in the last, are lost from these. Analogy teaches these isles have been ruined the same way.—(e) We have produced examples enough of this in the third chapter, and shall, occasionally, mention some others, though any single instance might suffice; for what is done in one part of the world may be done in another: And if the inhabitants of an island are free, or, which is better, if the isle is small, dependant on a mild government, in a country capable of protecting them, they may be rendered both populous and prosperous in an high degree.

through

through ages unnoticed and inconsiderable; for the one accounts for the other; and yet we may truly assert, that few islands can be assigned so destitute of conveniencies, as that we cannot point out others deficient in as many particulars, which have been so disposed, by human industry, as to become the seats of profit, power, and pleasure. I will not pretend to say, though I might quote some great authorities on the subject, what Homer had in view when he chose the Monarch of Ithaca (*f*) for his model of wisdom, since whatever it was, that instance could not be more applicable to his purpose than it is to mine (*g*).

BUT if, in answer to what has been advanced, any should allege, that WANT and DISTRESS sharpen mens INVENTIONS, and enable them to adorn the very rocks to which they are confined; the reply is easy, that VIRTUE and PRUDENCE may in this, as in many other cases, improve the LESSONS that were first given to mankind by NECESSITY (*h*). An island, however small, may, as we have already seen, become the seat of a great maritime city, and the capacity of erecting many of these, if we can shew it to be in the inhabitants of this country, is undoubtedly, what we have styled it, a very glorious PREROGATIVE (*i*). A prerogative singularly beneficial to a maritime power, as investing her with the means of creating, at pleasure, a multitude of subordinate states; so near, as that she may at all seasons command their assistance; so constituted, as that they must always be dependant upon, and so connected, that the greatest part of the wealth they acquire must constantly and necessarily rest with HER. But when we consider farther this maritime empire, already so much extended, as not only to excite the envy, but also to provoke the jealousy, of her most potent neighbours, this prerogative appears in a still stronger light, and may be well presumed to be the resource indicated by nature, and which therefore must prove fully sufficient for

(*f*) Homer. *Iliad*. B. *Odyss*. Δ. Virg. *Æneid*. lib. iii. Pomp. Melæ de Situ Orbis, lib. ii. cap. vii. Templeman's Survey of the Globe, plate ix. Ithaca is not a tenth part of the size of our Isle of Wight. It is true Ulysses had also Cephalonia and Zacynthus, but his whole Dominions were not quite as big as Hertfordshire.—(*g*) Strabon. *Geograph*. lib. i. p. 17. where he asserts that Homer's Intention was to represent the character of a perfect Prince. Heraclidis Pontici *Allegoriæ Homeri* apud Galei *Opusc. Mytholog.* p. 495, where this point is fully explained. Aristotelis, *liber de Poetica*, cap. viii. where he celebrates the *Odyssæy*, as a most complete poem, and Ulysses, in other parts of his works, as an accomplished monarch.—(*h*) A critical reader may very possibly object, that if the inhabitants of any of our islands are in a low condition, their own sharp feelings will in time teach them, better than any other preceptors, how to extricate themselves. But in answer to this, let it be observed, that contented poverty is a very unenterprising disposition, and that those who are not blessed with this, leave such isles to those whom the love of their country has taught it.—(*i*) I mean by prerogative, an inherent privilege bestowed by nature, that is, the providence of the supreme being, in the distribution of land and sea, and the disposition of countries, with a fitness for certain purposes; the discovery, improvement, and perfection of which, depends upon the prudence of their inhabitants, and on the attention of their governours more especially.

the support of this naval dominion, and rendering it as permanent and solid as it is splendid and honourable (*k*). But instead of dwelling on its consequences, our immediate business is to prove that BRITAIN really possesses this prerogative.

THE most convenient, if not the shortest way of doing this, is to take a view of the most considerable islands with which Great Britain is invested, which seem to be the outworks placed by providence for the security of this great country; and which, if properly improved, may, as we have suggested, make their MOTHER ISLE invincible to her enemies, and superiour to her rivals (*l*). We must, in order to do this so as to be intelligible, touch various points in reference to their geography, natural, civil, and commercial history; but, we desire it may be remembered that we touch them only in regard to this particular purpose, for to make an ample description of them in all respects is the proper business, and has been, in part at least, executed by others, though never indeed in so full and accurate manner as it deserved; for if it had, the very end of this chapter had been long ago superseded. But perhaps the time may come, and our great aim is to accelerate its approach, when this, in its fullest extent, shall be with accuracy performed (*m*). At present, all that is desired of the reader, is to consider this Political Survey of our Islands attentively; to compare the natural advantages of those that are already cultivated with those that have been so long slighted; and to measure the benefits that may be reasonably expected from the latter, by those that have been, and are actually reaped from the former. His own reflections will then project a light upon the subject, and enable him, perhaps, to form many stronger arguments than we are able to offer, in favour of that attention which we endeavour to bespeak, and which, whenever it is bestowed, will be attended with effects superiour to any thing we are able to conceive.

(*k*) This therefore appears to be the proper season for examining closely into this matter, and inquiring how these hitherto neglected parts of the British empire may be brought to bear a proportion in the support of the common interest, which is the principal reason this labour has been bestowed, from the hopes that the great expediency of it will at once facilitate and render it acceptable.—(*l*) If we consider all circumstances attentively, it is for the mutual benefit of those who dwell in the small isles, and the inhabitants of Britain, that they should be put into a better state than they are: ragged and unimproved rocks dishonour the country to which they belong; but being cultivated, manufactures introduced, towns raised, ports opened, and correspondence established, which can only be done by the attention, protection, and encouragement, of the mother country, the consequences will certainly make good the ancient and modern etymologies. The Britons, in their own language, called this Innis Mor, i. e. the Great Island, as did the Greeks; the Romans, another World; and, from the complete union of all its parts, may this be ever truly styled Great Britain!—(*m*) Such a work, of which we pretend only to give the outline, would show we have many valuable commodities in almost every one of these neglected islands.

In order to execute this plan methodically, we will speak of these islands in the following order: First of those dependant upon South Britain; next of such as formerly belonged to the Dutchy of Normandy; then of the Isle of Man; after that of the western islands belonging to North Britain; and lastly of the Orkney and Shetland islands. Thus we shall gradually advance from those that are nearest and best known to those that are most remote, and with which, to their great misfortune, and the public detriment, we have been hitherto but very little acquainted.

SECTION I.

Of the Islands dependant upon South Britain.

NAME, situation, and extent of the Isle of Wiht, or Wight. Succinct history of it from the most ancient times. Climate, soil, and produce. Comparative view of this with respect to some other islands. Proposals for farther improvements. The like particulars in regard to the Scilly, or Sylley Islands. Considerations on their great importance. Hints as to the numerous advantages that might be drawn from them. Account of Mona, now Anglesey, the original seat of the British Druids. The singular changes this country has undergone. Happy position, admirable fertility, and other natural benefits. Past and present condition in reference to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Miscellaneous remarks.

WE will begin then, as is natural, with that which is most considerable and nearest adjoining to the south coast of Britain, the Isle of Wight. This seems to have been called by the ancient Britons, *Uict*, the Diminutive of *Uig*, which signifies an island (*a*). Hence the Romans, imitating, as their custom was, the sound of the British word, styled it *Viētis*, *Veētis*, and *Veēta* (*b*). A Greek writer, coming nearer to the British name, calls it *Iēta* (*c*). The Saxons, *Wiht*, or *Wihte*, and *Wightland*, because possessed by the Jutes, called sometimes *Vitæ* and *Viti*, as well as *Juti* (*d*), whence, in the modern Welch, it appears to be styled *Guith*, which, because it signifies disjoined or divorced, some have thought a very significant appellation (*e*); but

(*a*) Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 247, 248, relying on the great skill of the author in etymologies, and the apparent conformity between *Uict* and *Veēta*.—(*b*) Sueton. in Vespasiano. Plin. hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 16. Claudii Ptolemæi Geograph. lib. viii. cap. 2. Eutrop. hist. Rom. lib. vii. Bed. hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. i. cap. 3.—(*c*) Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. hist. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 209.—(*d*) Chron. Saxon. p. 18, 19. Leg. Edwardi Confess. cap. 35. Alured. Beverlac. lib. vi. p. 38. Stapleton, in the margin of his translation of Bede, observes that the Jutes were called *Wites*. Lambard's historical and topographical dictionary, p. 394.—(*e*) Nennii hist. Brit. cap. ii. Leland. Commentar. in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 90. Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 31. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Lewis's history of Great Britain, p. 251, who remarks, that *Guyth* signifies not only separated, but a thing in sight.

the former account, though more modern, is however more natural, and therefore seems to come nearer the truth.

IT is separated from Hampshire by a small arm of the sea, called anciently the Solent, which is, in some places, twelve, in others seven, in most about four miles broad, except at the Strait between Sharpnor and Hurst Castles, where it is not quite two (*f*). This island is, or rather was, of an oval form, and thence said to resemble an egg; and in length, from East to West, was anciently thirty miles, at present twenty-three at most; in breadth, from North to South, twelve; in circumference, sixty (*g*). The south side of the island, which is opposed to France, is naturally fortified by exceeding steep cliffs, and, where-ever these are wanting, forts and blockhouses have been built.

THERE are also large and dangerous banks of sand on the north side called the Horse, No Man's Land, and the Brambles; on the west side a long ridge of rocks; and, nearer the shore, the needles; on the south Atherfeld rocks, Challarme, and Done Moss; to the east again, the Black Rocks, the Mixon, and the White Cliff, afford a kind of natural and effectual barrier against all invaders (*h*).

A LONG ridge of hills runs from west to east. The country on the south side is wonderfully rich and fertile, producing vast quantities of excellent corn; some say, in one good year as much as will serve the inhabitants seven (*i*). The middle and mountainous part of the island has some wood, and abundance of fine grass, which nourishes a vast number of sheep, and their fleece is not inferiour to any in Great Britain, except those of Cotswould and Lempster (*k*). Cattle, fowl, and fish, are equally good, and, except in time of war, when the island is crowded with people, cheap. There were likewise two parks, but one of these is now con-

(*f*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 79. Polyd. Vergil. hist. Anglic. p. 18. Harrison's description of Britain, p. 31. Camdeni Britannia, p. 197.—(*g*) Bede hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. i. cap. 3. Chronicon Fani S. Neoti, five Jo. Afferii Annal. ap. Gale, xx. scrip. tom. i. p. 142. Lelandi Commentar. in Cyneam Cantionem, p. 90. Polyd. Vergil. hist. Anglic. p. 18. Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 31. Brome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, P. iii. p. 265.—(*h*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 15. Heylin's Cosmography, p. 285. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 11. It looks as if these rocks, shoals, and sands, were remnants of the land belonging to this island when thirty miles long, and shaped like an egg, as ancient authors describe it. Add to this that in the Irish, and, if I mistake not in the Armoric, an egg is called uig or ugh, which has no small resemblance to vecta in the sound, nor is it altogether unlike in orthography.—(*i*) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 31. Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Collier's Historical and Geographical Dictionary, under the article Wight, vol. 2. Brome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, P. iii. p. 265.—(*k*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 51. Collier, under Wight, vol. ii. Brome's Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, P. iii. p. 266.

verted into arable land, and a forest, stored with excellent venison; to which when we add, that the climate, is so mild that myrtles grow in the open air, and so wholesome (except towards the eastern extremity, where agues are very common) that the people are generally healthy, and live frequently to a great age, we may be justified in saying, that few places can boast of being more plentiful or more pleasant (*l*).

It is admirably watered in every part by springs, brooks, or rivers. The famous road of St. Melens lies on the north-east side of the island, where the sea enters so deep, as almost to cut off one part; the most eastern promontory of which is Benbridge Point, and that extremity obtains the name of Benbridge Isle (*m*). There is another large opening about the middle, on the north side, where the river Cowes falls into the sea, and forms a harbour, defended formerly by two strong castles called the East and West Cowes, but the latter only is now standing (*n*). About four miles up the river stands Newport, the capital of the isle, in which there are, at present between three and four thousand inhabitants: It is a neat town, built with stone, to which vessels of a small burden come up; and being called in latin Medena, the island is on that account divided into the Hundreds of East Meden and West Meden. About a mile from thence stands Carebrook castle upon an high rock (*o*). To the west of Newport Haven lies that of Newton, which, notwithstanding it is now inconsiderable, was heretofore also a pretty good town; and still farther to the west lies the castle and town of South Yarmouth, where the sea enters again into the land, and penetrates within a mile of the south coast. The island being here as much intersected as at the eastern extremity, as that is styled Benbridge, so this is called Freshwater Isle (*p*).

THE history of this island does not, strictly speaking, fall within our plan; but we shall give it succinctly nevertheless, as it will throw much light upon some parts of the subject. It was not subdued by the Romans until the reign of the Emperour Claudius; when Vespasian, who commanded with

(*l*) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 31. Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. See also Drayton's Polyolbion, towards the close of the second song, where we have a fine poetical picture of the Isle of Wight, which is at once correct and elegant. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 51. Heylin's Cosmography, p. 285. Brome's Travels, P. iii. p. 265.—(*m*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Collier's Dictionary under Wight, vol. ii.—(*n*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 79. Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Brome's Travels, P. iii. p. 267.—(*o*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 79. Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Heylin's Cosmography, p. 285.—(*p*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. Collier's Dictionary under Wight, vol. ii.

great success and reputation for him in Britain, reduced it (*q*). According to some it revolted again, and was again reduced by Adrian (*r*). When Alecctus, who murdered Carausius, and thereby gained a short-lived sovereignty in Britain, apprehended Constantius Chlorus would invade him from Gaul, he anchored with his fleet at this island, supposing he should have been able to intercept any naval armament before it could reach Britain. But Constantius passing by with his squadron unperceived in hazy weather, and landing his forces, Alecctus (laying aside his purple) fled precipitately, and was killed in the route (*s*). The Saxons, then in the Roman service, first visited Britain in this fleet: Henceforward, improving in maritime skill and force, they meditated the conquest which they afterwards achieved. Cerdic, the first monarch of the West Saxons, subdued Vecta, with prodigious slaughter of the inhabitants, and bestowed it on his two nephews, Stufu and Wihtgar, who peopled it with Jutes (*t*). Wolpher, King of the Mercians, took it from them, and bestowed it upon his godson Edelwach, King of the South Saxons, in trust that he would convert the people to christianity, which however he could not effect (*u*). Cedwall, the great monarch of the West Saxons, attempted and completed their reduction, and was on the point of exterminating them, if he had not been appeased by Wilfrid, who had been Bishop of York, and was then of Selsey, to whom he gave one fourth of the island, which amounted to three hundred households, or, as a Saxon writer (*w*) understands that phrase, three hundred hides of land. Tosti, Brother, but for all that an inveterate enemy to King Harold, in the short reign of this Prince plundered the isle with a piratical squadron which he commanded (*x*).

UNDER William the Norman, Fitzosborne, Earl Marshal and of Hertford, conquered it, and was styled Lord of the Isle of Wight (*y*). His son having forfeited for treason, Henry the First granted it to Ricardus de Ripariis, Redvears,

(*q*) Sueton. in Vespasiano, cap. iv. Eutrop. hist. Roman. lib. vii. Bedæ Eccles. hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. i. cap. 3.—(*r*) Hector. Boethii Scotorum hist. lib. v. fol. 76. Lambarde's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 395.—(*s*) Eutropii hist. Roman. lib. ix. Eumenii Panegyricus and Constantium. Pontici Virunni hist. Briton. lib. v.—(*t*) Chronicon Saxonum, A. D. 530, 534. Alured. Beverlacensis Annal. lib. vi. Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon, lib. iii. fol. 53. Lelandi collectanea, tom. ii. p. 252. From this Wihtgar the principal place in the island was called Wihtgarabyrig, Wihtgari Castellum, afterwards Carebrook Castle, which is still reputed, though now much decayed, the residence of the governor.—(*u*) Chronicon Saxonum, A. D. 661. Henrici Huntingdun. hist. lib. i. Lelandi Collectanea, tom. ii. p. 147.—(*w*) Chronicon Saxonum, A. D. 686. Bedæ Eccles. hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. iv. cap. 16. Lelandi Commentar. in Cygneam Cantionem, p. 90.—(*x*) Aluredi Beverlacensis Annal. lib. ix. Simonis Dunelmensis hist. A. D. 1066. Lelandi Collectanea, tom. ii. p. 195.—(*y*) Gulielm. Gemet. p. 282. Oderic Vital hist. Eccles. p. 521. Roger Hovedon, p. 258.

or Rivers (z); and, in succeeding times, King John retired hither to avoid the Barons (a). In the reign of Edward the First, Isabella de Fortibus, widow of the Earl of Albemarle, and heiress to the family of Rivers, Earls of the isle of Wight, or rather her daughter Aveline, sold or exchanged it, though very unwillingly, with the crown (b).

THAT monarch being thus possessed of the island appointed John Fitz-Thomas to govern it, with the title of constable, and assigned him also the keeping of Carebrook castle: And indeed it appears that, whenever this isle was thought in danger, the King, or, by his authority, the Sheriff of Hants, named a Guardian or a Captain to command therein, and to take all necessary provisions for its security, as might be proved by many instances (c). Edward the Second granted Carebrook castle, with all the lands he possessed in this isle, and which were then of the value of three thousand marks a year, to Piers Gaveston and Margaret his wife, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, and the heirs of their bodies. Upon his decease it returned to the crown; and the same King afterwards granted the castle before-mentioned, with all the services reserved thereto, and his lands in the isle, to his son Prince Edward and his heirs, Kings of England; and in consequence of this an inquisition issued, to ascertain what passed by this grant; when it appeared that, amongst other rights, that of all the wrecks upon the coast of Wight belonged to the possessor of Carebrook castle (d). It is not evident, from any thing we have seen, that it was alienated from the crown in all the reign of Edward the Third, who, being a wise Prince, knew the advantage of retaining so valuable a possession in his own hands, as his great grandfather, from a like principle of policy, had done.

BUT King Richard the-Second, who was of another disposition, and much in the hands of the Princes of his blood, granted the Isle of Wight, with the castle of Carebrook, and the dominion thereof, to Edward Earl of Rutland, whom he afterwards created Duke of Albemarle. But he being slain, commanding the vanguard of the English army at the battle of Agincourt, bearing the title, on the demise of his father, of Duke of York, this grant vested in his widow, Philippa Dutcheß of York; or, as some say, was granted to her for life by King Henry the Fifth, with remainder to his own brother, Humphry Duke of Gloucester.

(z) Oderic. Vital. hist. Eccles. p. 783. Monasticon Anglican. tom. i. col. 790. Brooke's Catalogue of Nobility, p. 56.—(a) Matt. Paris hist. Angl. tom. i. p. 264. Lambard's Topographical and Historical Dictionary, p. 396. Speed's Chronicle, p. 504.—(b) Claus. 4. Edw. I. iii. 7. in Cedula Pat. 11 Edw. III. p. 1. per Inspe. Camdeni Britannia, p. 200.—(c) Rymeri Fœdera, tom. v. p. 22, 24. vii. 139, 147.—(d) Chart. 1 Edw. II. m. 6, 11, 6. Pat. 20 Edw. II. m. 10. Molloy de Jure Maritimo et Navali, lib. ii. cap. v.

This Philippa became afterwards wife of Robert Fitzwalter, and dying A. D. 1400, at Carebrook castle, styles herself, in her last testament, Lady of the Isle of Wight (*e*). But it does not appear that Humphry Duke of Gloucester ever enjoyed this Lordship, on the contrary, it is more probable that it was again vested in the crown.

FOR we find Henry the Sixth alienated it in favour of Henry de Beauchamp, whom he created Duke of Warwick, and afterwards crowned him, with his own hands, King of the Isle of Wight (*f*). In him as the title began it also extinguished, he dying without heirs (*g*). The same monarch granted it to Henry Beaufort, son to Edmund Duke of Somerset, which title himself afterwards bore, and was slain fighting for the King his master, having no lawful issue (*h*). Edward the Fourth granted the title of Lord of the Isle of Wight to Anthony Woodville Lord Scales, afterwards Earl Rivers, who died on a scaffold at Pontefract, without issue (*i*). In the reign of Henry the Seventh, Edward Widville, or Woodville, whom our historians call Lord Woodville, though never so created, uncle to Anthony Earl of Rivers, was governour of this island, in which he raised a considerable force, with the King's connivance, though without his countenance or consent, which he carried over to Brittany; and having performed many honourable exploits, was there slain, in the battle of St. Albin (*k*). Upon his demise, or not long after, it was granted in farm by the same Prince to his great favourite Sir Reginald Bray, at the rate of three hundred marks per annum.

WHILE this island was sometimes in the hands of subjects, sometimes belonging immediately to the crown, the condition of its inhabitants must have been very precarious (*m*). The Lords also of the Isle of Wight were in different circumstances. Some held it in fee, others in special tail, and others for life only. When it was in the crown, the person presiding there had the title of constable, the custody of Carebrook, and the profits of the lands belonging thereto; but the rest of the manors belonging to his Lordship, of which he was only steward, were accounted for in the exche-

(*e*) Pat. 20. R. II. p. 3. m. 5. Chicheley (Register) vol. i. p. 428.—(*f*) Ex Libello de Antiquitate Theokebiriensis Monasterii. Leland's Itinerary, tom. vi. fol. 91. Camdeni Britannia, p. 200.—(*g*) John Rosse's historical account of the Earls of Warwick. Brooke's catalogue of nobility, p. 261. Sir William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 322.—(*h*) Pat. 36 H. VI. p. 1. m. 10.—(*i*) Pat. 6 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 19.—(*k*) Polyd. Verg. hist. Angl. lib. xxvi. p. 733. Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 768. Stowe's Annals, p. 485.—(*l*) Polyd. Verg. hist. Angl. lib. xxvi. p. 774. Camdeni Britannia, p. 200. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 311.—(*m*) The uncertainty of their tenures must discourage industry, and their being exposed more than most other parts of England in time of war, hindered them from applying effectually to trade.

quer. At all times the King received the same aids out of this isle as from the rest of Hampshire; and the inhabitants were amenable to the King's Justices when they came into that country, and were amerced if they did not attend (*n*). After the time of Henry the Eighth, the office of Governour and Captain of the isle, to which was annexed the constableness of Carebrook castle, was given to persons of high rank, who, if they had no other connexion with the isle, commonly devolved the duties of the office, with the title of Deputy Governour, on some gentleman of character and distinction, of which there were and are many in the country (*o*). From this period, when greater equality and security in point of property began, and since the station of our naval force likewise has been so much confined to Portsmouth, the face of affairs has been changed here, and every thing prospered and improved, as free from all ancient impediments.

FOR the situation of this island exposed it exceedingly in those early times, while other nations were potent at sea; more especially in the days of our Saxon monarchs, when the Danes were continually infesting our coasts; and, after the conquest, during our frequent wars with the French and their allies. For this reason several methods were devised and practised for its defence (*p*). Thus, in Edward the Third's time, we find that the inhabitants were released from all personal services and aids in money; but such of them as were absent were remanded to their own country (*q*). In the succeeding reign the people were so harassed, that most of them deserted the island, upon which the remaining inhabitants petitioned the King in parliament for relief (*r*). In order to raise and array the militia with greater facility, the island was divided into eleven centons, which were equivalent to hundreds, that is in respect to the isle; for as connected with the county, the whole is divided into two hundreds only, viz. East Meden and West Meden, as has been before-mentioned; and each of these centons is subdivided into Vintons. The Sheriff of Southampton was empowered to muster them, and to appoint a custos or guardian of the isle (*s*). King Henry the Eighth, whom the writers of his own time celebrate for his extraordinary care of our coasts, had a special regard to this island, in which he built the two

(*n*) Mag. Rot. 5 Steph. Rot. 5. b. where it appears the inhabitants paid Dane-gelt. Mag. Rot. 16 Hen. II. Rot. 9. a. Hantescira; which shows that the people of this isle were amerced for not meeting the judges.—(*o*) Sir James Worsely, Lord Cromwel, Sir Edward Horsey, Sir Francis Knollys, Earl of Portland, Lord Culpeper, Sir William Oglander, &c.—(*p*) Chronicon Saxonicum, p. 98, 129, 132, 135, 138. Chronicon Joannis Bromton, col. 886, 887. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 152. Chron. de Mailrofs, p. 153.—(*q*) Walteri Hemingford Chron. Edw. III. p. 282. Lelandi Collectanea, tom. i. p. 302. Cotton's Records, p. 179.—(*r*) Thomæ Sprotti Chronic. p. 59. col. 2. Thomæ Otterbourne Chronic. p. 148. Cotton's Records, p. 179.—(*s*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Cotton's Records, p. 28. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 15.

castles of Cowes (*t*). In Queen Elizabeth's reign the militia amounted to four thousand; so that the number of people in her time was become greater than in preceding ages (*u*). At present, the superiority of our fleets defend the inhabitants of this beautiful spot, not only from danger, but even from apprehensions. Indeed the season of war is so far from being now dreaded as perilous, that, on account of the almost innumerable advantages arising from thence, it is regarded by the inhabitants of this flourishing country as their harvest (*w*).

WE will take this opportunity of mentioning a very memorable proposal relating to this island, made by a gentleman who bore a very high command in our fleet, and was esteemed as able a seaman as any of his time (*x*). He has bestowed great pains to prove that many uses might be made of gallies in our seas, that they would be a great addition to the strength of our navy, would contribute to defend our own coasts from invasions, facilitate making descents upon those of our enemies, and be highly serviceable in several other respects. He treats this subject at large, and enforces what he delivers, by examples drawn from his own experience. In his conclusion he observes, that the Isle of Wight is not barely the fittest place in Britain, but in all Europe, for the entertainment of gallies, and enters likewise into the proof of this with great spirit and sagacity.

As to the size, or extent rather, of this island, it has been reckoned to be somewhat more than one hundred and fifty square miles, or about one hundred thousand acres (*y*). And in order to ascertain this, upon an application to the properest judge, an intelligent inhabitant, he computed there must be fourscore thousand acres at least. Besides the three boroughs, Newport, Newton, and Yarmouth, before-mentioned, which send six members to parliament (*z*), and the votes of all the freeholders in choosing Knights for Hampshire, there are upwards of forty villages, divided into about thirty parishes (*a*), and in which there may be, on a very moderate computation, from twenty-five to thirty thousand

(*t*) Cygnea Cantio, p. 21. Leland's Itinerary, tom. iii. fol. 79. Camdeni Britannia, p. 198.—(*u*) As appears by returns made when there was an apprehension of a Spanish invasion; and a piece of ordnance was also placed in every village.—(*w*) Heylin's Cosmography, p. 285. Brome's travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, P. iii. p. 266.—Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 186.—(*x*) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, book iii. p. 361, 362, 363.—(*y*) Templeman's Survey, plate xxix.—(*z*) It may not be amiss to remark that Newport and Yarmouth sent jointly members to parliament, 27 Edw. I. that Yarmouth sent members to a great council in the reign of Edward the III. But their becoming regular in that respect, and Newton's sending two members, is to be dated from the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth.—(*a*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 198. Speed's British Empire, fol. 15. See the preface before the first volume of Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. xxiv. Stat. 7 & 8 W. III. cap. xxv. §. 10. British Parliamentary Register, No. 158, 160, 162.

inhabitants (*s*). There is no doubt that the number of inhabitants here have increased greatly, and that the island is, at present, incomparably in a better state than in former times; but considering the vicinity of England, and the many opportunities that youth meet with to visit countries at a far greater distance, it is not likely that, with all its beauties, this epitome of Britain, as it may be very justly styled, will ever be overstocked.

BUT that this beautiful country, even in its present flourishing condition, is very far from being improved to the utmost may appear, from comparing it with various islands, under several forms of rule, and in different parts of the world. The Isle of Walcheren, by much the most considerable, though not the largest of the seven that are in Zeeland, the second of the united provinces, is at most but half the size of the Isle of Wight, excellently cultivated indeed, having also an extensive trade, and much foreign commerce, has in it a city, four walled towns, and many large populous villages (*a*). Middleburgh, the capital of the island, and of the province also, which province is not thrice the bigness of our isle, contains as many inhabitants as there are in Wight; being in all respects one of the fairest, neatest, and best built cities within the Dutch dominions (*u*). Most of its advantages, and even its port, are derived from art, which originally constructed, and still maintains, those costly and stupendous dykes which protect the blessings that spring from nature (*w*). A circumstance which alone makes a prodigious difference in respect of their situations. But to proceed: Malta is nearly of the same size with our island, and, according to the best accounts, is about twice as well inhabited, though not at all superiour to it in point of soil and other prerogatives (*x*). But the island of Barbadoes far exceeds them both, having whites and blacks together, not fewer than one hundred thousand (*y*). It is therefore no absurd or ridiculous scheme to propose (which for many reasons would be highly serviceable to Great Britain) the rendering this island much better inhabited than it is, though we should grant it to be very difficult to render it as populous as Barba-

(*s*) From private information that may be depended on.—(*t*) *Isolario di Tomaso Porcacchi*, lib. i. p. 33. *Heylin's Cosmography*, book ii. p. 335. *D'Audiffret Histoire et Geographie Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. ii. p. 532.—(*u*) *Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, P. i. book i. chap. iv. p. 49, 50. *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*, p. 464, 465, 466. *Sir William Temple's Observations on the Netherlands*, chap. iii. p. 124.—(*w*) *Alting. Not. infer German.* P. ii. p. 117. *De Bois Geographie Moderne*, P. i. chap. xii. §. 2. *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 27.—(*x*) *Sandy's Travels*, book iv. p. 227, 234. *Ray's Travels*, vol. i. p. 264. *Francesco Abela Descrizione di Malta, Isola nel Mare Siciliano, con le Antichità, e altre Notizie*, Malta 1647, fol.—(*y*) *British empire in America*, vol. ii. p. 125, 126. *Hughes's Natural History of Barbadoes*, book i. p. 14. *Account of European Settlements in America*, vol. ii. p. 83, 84.

does,

does (z). This is the rather to be attempted, as, if there arises no immediate advantage, yet no inconveniencies whatever are to be apprehended from such an endeavour.

THIS isle has been always commended for its wonderful fertility; and though some may attribute that to the almost universal use of marl since the beginning of the current century, yet I am of the same opinion with a worthy and very intelligent gentleman settled there, that this is no new, but an old improvement revived; and so, in effect, has been the invariable cause of the fruitfulness of Wight. He mentions, in support of this, the great depth of the marl pits on their downs, and a stratum of chalk or marl discovered upon breaking up lands which had been laid down in grass for one hundred years or more (a). It has been also found, on grubbing of coppices, very deep in the ground, which is a proof these had been once arable; and the same husbandry practised before (b). Indeed marling was so anciently introduced, that Pliny mentions it as a method peculiarly ours (c). But still perhaps it will admit of further extension; and it would be an acceptable service done to the public, if any competent judge would give the world a complete history of this valuable earth, and its uses in agriculture; which, considering how numerous they are, and how generally marl is to be found in all parts of these kingdoms, is a matter of great importance (d). The cultivation of turnips also has made some progress already in this isle; and there is little room to doubt will, in the course of the present age, be rendered as advantageous there as in Norfolk. In other points of œconomy the farmers here are equally knowing and expert (e). it is indeed true, we find them sometimes impeached of obstinacy, and a dislike to new inventions, on which topic they are more easy to be excused than in other places, because their old methods are very sensible, and, for the most part succeed very well.

(z) The amazing number of people in Barbadoes arises from their staple sugar; which is first a commodity, next a manufacture, and lastly a grand article of commerce; giving employment and subsistence to multitudes, considered in every one of these lights. As to the other two islands, Walcheren has the staple of French wines, and Malta her military order.—(a) This account of Wight was transmitted entire to a gentleman of eminent understanding in the affairs of the island, to whom I am restrained from making a more distinct acknowledgment of my great obligations.—(b) Lisle's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 64. where are several useful remarks upon this subject.—(c) Natur. Hist. lib. xvii. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he calls it *Adeps Terræ*, and informs us that the Celts called it, in their own language, *Marga*.—(d) The use of marl prevails much in Kent, Essex, Suffex, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and in the North.—(e) Lisle's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 64, 69, 76, 292, 333. Vol. ii. p. 57, 143, 181, 228, 278, 390, 398.

THE situation, climate, and soil, might tempt one to hope vines might be cultivated here to perfection; that is, so as to make wine equal to what we import. This was attempted by Mr. Travers, and failed, as I have been informed, rather through impatience than any other source; a circumstance that has been usually fatal to this improvement, which, from thence, has never once met with a fair trial, under proper management, the real cause, at least in my poor opinion, why vineyards in Britain do not succeed (*f*) Pomegranates, bearing fruit, have been commonly raised in the open air, but as curiosities only: yet as the flowers, fruit, seeds, rind, and bark, are all of them saleable, and the latter peculiarly useful in tanning, perhaps it might be managed to profit (*g*). Samphire grows in abundance, and so no doubt would caper bushes, amongst the cliffs, in proper expositions. These are a considerable object in one of the fairest provinces of France (*h*), and would certainly become very soon a commodity greatly advantageous to the inhabitants of so small an island, more especially as they would grow best in places where nothing is now produced of any value, and might be gathered and pickled by aged persons, women, and children, who have no opportunity of earning any thing at present (*i*). White mulberries, there is little room to question, would thrive here, and many other fruits and shrubs which would naturally follow, if any of the improvements before-hinted were once brought to bear. There is, in these cases, no difficulty in the pursuit, comparable to that of taking a steady and well founded resolution of entering upon and prosecuting a new improvement, till it is incontestably evident whether it will succeed or not.

THOUGH there are so many raw materials, yet there are but few manufactures in this island. It does not appear that, except worsted, there is any thing wrought out of their excellent wool, which might be all employed in the slight stuffs and thin cloths that are the supports of the French looms, if a small encouragement were given to those who are expert in these trades to come over and settle in this island (*k*). There are a few tanners, and a currier, but the making several sorts of leather is not yet introduced, though there is room for it.

(*f*) Harrison's Description of Britain, book i. chap. xviii. p. 110. Evelyn's Preface to the English Vineyard vindicated, by John Rose. Bradley's Survey of ancient Husbandry and Gardening, at the close of his preface.—(*g*) Dictionnaire Universelle de Commerce, tom. iii. col. 701. 702. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade. vol. iii. p. 8. Retired Gardener, by London and Wife, vol. ii. p. 679—687.—(*h*) Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xx. cap. 15. Prosperi Alpini Ægypti Hist. Natur. tom. ii. p. 60. Boulainvilliers Etat. de la France, vol. ii. p. 453.—(*i*) Such acquisitions are doubly valuable, as removing an expense on one side, and bringing in a clear profit on the other.—(*k*) In no part of the British dominions could a scheme of this sort be so easily accomplished, as the material is not any where to be obtained in quantity or quality so well adapted to the purpose, or the manufacture conveyed more speedily, or with less expense, to foreign markets.

There is a most valuable and beautiful white sand in fresh-water Isle, near the Needles, upon the estate of David Urry, Esq; of which considerable quantities are sent annually to Bristol and Liverpool (*l*). There was formerly a manufacture of glass at Cowes, but it has been long ago discontinued. The loss of these, and the incapacity of setting up any new manufacture, is chiefly owing to the dearth and defect of firing, more especially of late years (*m*). It was this, in all probability, that obliged the inhabitants to discontinue the baking their own flour into biscuit, and brewing their own malt into beer, for the use of the navy, which was formerly practised here (*n*). We have the concurring authority of several eminent writers, that there was a very fine sort of tobacco-pipe clay, called Hayter's clay, in this island, but now what is used for making pipes they bring from Pool (*o*). But we will pass from these to another manufacture which they have also lost, and not through that defect which has been specified; which manufacture may be certainly and easily retrieved, and, if retrieved, would undoubtedly make way for many more, increase the number of inhabitants, and give a new turn to their endeavours.

THE manufacture that I mean is bay-salt, which, as I have been informed, was once actually made at Hampstead in this island; and there can be no reason assigned why it should not be made there as well as on the coasts of Brittany (*p*). The situation of the island for salt ponds is more favourable. They might be constructed and managed with the utmost facility. The stone properest for flooring and lining these ponds is carried from this island to distant places, and would doubtless answer full as well here (*q*). Besides, the salt being produced in these ponds in the Summer only, they might be used for keeping sea-fish, as is practised and turns to profit elsewhere (*r*), for at least six months in the year. In consequence of this manufacture there would probably arise a fishery, which would be a further advantage; for though the sea abounds with the best sorts of fish on all sides, no use

(*k*) According to the information I received upon the application I have already mentioned.—(*m*) There seem to be two methods of redressing this evil. The first, by increasing the quantity of their coppices, and putting the felling them under a general regulation; which probably would be found practicable. The second is, augmenting their navigation, by introducing manufactures, which would soon reduce the price of coals, by bringing them in greater plenty to market.—(*n*) If the improvement hereafter mentioned, p. 469, should take effect, this practice, to the no small advantage of the inhabitants, would naturally revive, as it would become the care of the admiralty to procure their stores on the cheapest terms.—(*o*) Morton's Natural History of Northamptonshire, p. ii. chap. i. p. 70. Leigh's Natural History of Lancashire, p. 57. Woodward's Natural History of Fossils. vol. ii. p. 63. (*p*) philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. li. p. 1025. Collins on Salt and Fisheries, p. 57. Brownrigg's Art of making Salt, p. 32. 125.—(*q*) The author last cited has given very clear instructions in respect to the making these ponds, and very accurate calculations as to their produce.—(*r*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 137. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 22.

has been made of this great blessing, but for immediate consumption, by the inhabitants. At all events, the producing bay-salt would create a new branch of exportation (*s*); and, by exhibiting the advantages that accrue from industry, happily exerted, and the benefits that may result by a strict attention to the natural prerogatives of the isle, give the people a greater spirit than they have hitherto shewn in making those improvements for which they have such singular and extraordinary conveniencies, and which would turn equally to their private and particular emolument, as inhabitants of Wight, and to the public interest, as at the same time they would not at all lessen the benefits they already derive from their native commodities (*t*). But all things must have a beginning, and, in all attempts of this nature, a right beginning is of the utmost consequence; and such, on a mature consideration of all circumstances, this appears to be, which is the sole reason for stating it so much at large, and insisting upon it so copiously.

In regard to navigation and commerce, West Cowes, which is a member of Southampton, is, properly speaking, the port of the Isle of Wight; having under its jurisdiction the havens of Yarmouth and Newport, as creeks (*u*). Cowes is in this respect very commodious, and a great resort there is thither of ships outward and homeward bound, and, in time of war, of foreign ships as well as our own. For this reason there is a custom-house, and a competent establishment for officers employed in making the proper entries and collecting the duties. This resort however is chiefly owing to its happy situation, in respect to vessels proceeding to or returning from distant parts; and has little to do with the inhabitants of Wight (*w*), who, except sending, when markets are favourable, pretty large quantities of corn to Spain and Portugal, cannot boast of much foreign commerce, for which, nevertheless, they are admirably seated, and, if manufactures were once introduced, would very soon grow considerable, and see those towns which are now declining, a sure sign that something is wanting, rise again into credit, and resume their ancient splendor (*x*). For Cowes, from the causes before-mentioned, is the best built and most flourishing place, though no borough, in this isle; and surely the same causes would

(*s*) It would when brought to bear, produce some, and make way for many other manufactures, which could not be introduced as things now stand.—

(*t*) There is at present bay salt made to great profit at Lymington, but then this is completed by boiling: what is proposed is by the sole operation of the sun, which, from its situation, is certainly practicable in the Isle of Wight.—

(*u*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 11. Molloy de Jure Maritimo et Navali, p. 327. Crouch's Complete View of the British Customs, p. 385.—(*w*) The advantages which arise to the many industrious and wealthy persons settled here spring from the commerce of Britain, and would not be at all diminished by any improvements we have suggested.—(*x*) In the reign of Henry VIII. Newport was the only market in the isle; Newton and Yarmouth grew afterwards considerable.

produce the same effects elsewhere. In the coasting trade, according to the best account I could obtain, there may be employed in the whole about fourscore vessels of all sizes (y).

IN order to accelerate all these improvements, of which this beautiful, fruitful, and well-seated country is certainly capable, let me be permitted to give a few further hints, which though they may pass unregarded for the present, may possibly meet with a better reception from posterity, which is the common fate of such pieces of advice (z). The whole island is wonderfully pleasant; but if any mineral water could be discovered in the vicinity of some well-situated village, where proper conveniencies were provided for strangers, under such regulations as to prevent avarice from proving prejudicial to the public interest, it could not fail, where-ever these circumstances concurred, of producing numerous advantages (a). But here something is left to chance. I will mention another case, where there is nothing. There is no place where bathing in the sea could be rendered more commodious than in almost every town in the island (b); and considering the many charming prospects, agreeable walks, and delightful rides, that might be contrived, and the facility of having recourse to a medicine not inferior to sea-water, that is, making short trips at sea, which efficacious exercise, and the salubrious change of air attending it, has been found beneficial even in the most desperate cases (c); these circumstances combined, would quickly render this the finest retreat for valetudinary persons in the south of England. In consequence of a concourse of people at regular seasons, many improvements, now not so much as in conception, would, as from the like cause has been experienced in other places, be speedily and certainly made (d). The circulation of money would by the same means be increased, and industry also of necessity encouraged, over the whole island. Add to this, that it would afford the most natural support to a new manufacture in stuff or cloth, and strongly conduce to the making it generally known, and bringing it into credit. Besides, it would contribute to stop the humour of

(y) The introduction of manufactures would also render this coasting trade much more considerable.—(z) Many of the hints given by Leland, Sir Thomas More, Sir Hugh Plat, Mr. Hartlib, Mr. Evelyn, Dr. Beale, and Mr. Boyle, though unheeded in their own times, have been the source of wealth in ours.—(a) It is a prevailing opinion, that no vein of any kind of metal is to be found in this island, which will be either confirmed or confuted, according to the success of this search for a medical spring.—(b) When intelligent readers consider, what benefits have resulted in other countries and in our own, to places where such temporary confluence of people hath been drawn by such means, they will see the recommendation in its proper light.—(c) Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. vi. Val. Sweiten Comment. in Boerhaav. Aphorif. vol. i. p. 34. Dr. Gilchrist's use of sea voyages in medicine, chap. vii.—(d) Cheltenham and Scarborough are instances in our own times; in which period also, chiefly from prudent regulations, Bath is become, in respect to what it was at the beginning of this century, almost as big again.

going to Montpelier, Lisbon, and Naples, and save vast sums unnecessarily spent in such excursions (*e*).

IN the middle of the isle an academy might be very commodiously erected, for teaching the modern languages, and all the sciences requisite to qualify youth for the service of the navy. They would here be more retired, and consequently better disposed to follow their studies; and yet near enough the fleet to complete their education by practical instructions, when so far versed in theory as to understand them thoroughly. Competent salaries to the professors, strict regulations in regard to their granting certificates to their pupils of their capacity, when sent upon actual service, and a due respect paid to those certificates, if supported by proper behaviour, in accelerating the promotion of young seamen thus educated, would produce many good effects, at a small expence to the public (*f*). How much such an institution upon a broad foundation is wanted, what mighty advantages have accrued to seamen from their having a just tincture of letters, and what mischiefs flow from deficiencies in this respect, may be learned from the writings of the best judges; men versed in naval affairs, and who had a sincere and hearty zeal for the honour and prosperity of their country (*g*).

ANOTHER thing that would contribute exceedingly to render this isle more populous and more considerable, would be the making one of its ports fit for the reception of part of the small-armed vessels that belong to the royal navy, and laying up there the stores, artillery, and other furniture, when not employed. I am aware of some objections that may be made to this; but instead of stating and answering these, I shall only observe, that none can be urged more strongly against it, than those that were formerly alledged against employing, in the same manner, but with respect to larger vessels, the opposite isle, called Portsea (*h*). As therefore the superior excellency of the haven of Portsmouth very justly overcame these, and has been productive of so many benefits, why may we not, in a proportionable degree, expect that the same would follow here? There might indeed be some expence in the first fixing these establishments; but this would be in reality no more than a temporary change in the circulation, and would possibly little, if at all, exceed the additional annual income

(*e*) The sums thus spent, which are an absolute loss to the nation, amount to much more than could be well imagined; and yet, we must allow, it is an evil that ought to be tenderly dealt with.—(*f*) Such an academy would draw young men, who were inclined to a maritime life, from all quarters, and two years would be sufficient to go through the necessary parts of education.—(*g*) King Henry VIII. declares his view to this, in his letters patent for establishing the Trinity-ships at Deptford, Kingston upon Hull, and Newcastle. See also Hackluyt's edition of his collection of voyages to the earl of Nottingham. Sir William Monson's naval tracts. Hooke's posthumous works, p. 451. 475.—(*h*) Compare the size of Portsea with that of the isle of Wight, and consider the number of houses and inhabitants in both.

from custom and excise, which, in the space of a few years, these improvements, by augmenting the number of inhabitants, and enlarging their connections, correspondence, and commerce, would produce (*i*).

UPON this occasion I will take the opportunity of avowing that I make the less scruple of recommending such expences as these to the public, because the public is certainly and solely to reap all the benefits that shall arise from them, and this in a sensible and honourable way, by taking the proper measures to accomplish the proposed end, and not by accident, or without foresight. There are arts, or more properly tricks, by which the revenue may be raised, by the subjects being allowed to spend, without being enabled to get; whereas sound policy increases the public income, by encouraging private industry, multiplying manufactures, and augmenting the number of people.

WE come now to that cluster of islands which lie about ten leagues to the west of Cornwall; and, however inconsiderable in their present state, were earlier and better known to the old world than Great Britain or Ireland. They were first called CASSITERIDES, or the TIN ISLES, from their being rich in that metal (*k*). The common opinion is, that this is a Greek appellation; which in the most obvious sense is true: But as the Phœnicians were familiar with the metal, and with the country that produced it, before the Greeks knew any thing of either, it is very likely they introduced the names of both from their own language (*l*). This is the most probable, because Herodotus says, that, though he was acquainted with tin, he knew not the islands from whence it was brought (*m*). Strabo gives us an accurate, though a very succinct account of the Cassiterides. He says these islands were ten in number, lying close together, of which only one was uninhabited; the people led an erratic life, lived upon the produce of their cattle, wore an under garment which reached down to their ancles, and over that another, both of the same colour, which was black, girt round a little below the breast with a girdle, and walked with staves in their hands. The riches of these islands was tin and lead, which, with the skins of their cattle, they exchanged with foreign merchants, that is the Phœnicians from Cadiz, for earthen-ware, salt and

(*i*) The products of these duties may be considered as indices of the commerce and industry of the people, so far as regards the public.—(*k*) The rich produce of these islands, and the commercial spirit of their inhabitants, rendered them famous; these being lost, they became obscure.—(*l*) Num. xxxi. 22. All the metals are mentioned. But in the Targum of Jonathan, instead of the Hebrew word *bedil*, which we render tin, we have *kassira*, and in the Jerusalem Targum *kistara*. See Bib. Polyglot. tom. iv. p. 303.—(*m*) Herodoti Thalia, p. 90, which passage plainly shews, that the Cassiterides were, in his opinion, islands in the western parts of Europe.

utensils made of brass (*n*). An author of as great or greater antiquity, seems to include a part at least of Cornwall amongst these islands; or rather, he suggests, that they were not perfect islands except at full sea, but that at ebb the inhabitants passed from one to another upon the sands, and that they even transported their tin in large square blocks upon carriages from one island to another. He farther takes notice, that such as inhabited about Belerium, or the Land's End, were, from their conversation with strangers, remarkably civil and courteous (*o*). Other ancient writers stile these islands HESTERIDES, from their western situation (*p*), and OESTRYMNIDES, asserting that the land was extremely fertile, as well as full of mines, and that the people, though very brave, were entirely addicted to commerce, and boldly passed the seas in their leather boats (*q*). How things came to be in so very different a condition as they are at present, and how, even in the state they now stand, they afford to an intelligent enquirer unquestionable proofs of their having been formerly such as these old writers represent them, may be learned from the pen of a very ingenious and sensible author, who has taken great pains to make himself thoroughly master of his subject, which he has treated with equal solidity and perspicuity; so that there is no need of our insisting any longer upon this point (*r*).

The Romans were exceedingly desirous of having a share in this commerce, which the Phœnicians as carefully laboured to prevent, by concealing their navigation to these islands as much as it was in their power (*s*). At length however the Romans prevailed, and Publius Crassus coming thither, was so well pleased with the industry and manners of the people, that he taught them various improvements, as well in working their mines, which till that time were but shallow, as in carrying their own merchandize to different markets (*t*). A very learned person has with great probability suggested that this

(*n*) Strab. Geograph. lib. iii. p. 147. 175, 176. We should, however, have received far more light upon this subject, if the treatise written upon tin, and the places from whence it came, by Polybius, had been preserved. We find these islands also mentioned by Pomponius Mela, in his work de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 41.—(*o*) Diod. Sicul. Bibl. Hist. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 209. The point of Cornwall appears from the high lands in the Scithier as an island.—(*p*) Dionysius Alexand. in Orbis Descript. p. 562. Eustathius, in his commentary, asserts these to be the Cassiterides, and borrows several passages from Strabo in order to illustrate his author's very concise account.—(*q*) Fest. Avieni Ora Maritim. v. 99. His account is larger and more circumstantial than that of Dionysius the Alexandrian.—(*r*) Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society, vol. xlviii. N^o. vii. p. 55. An account of the great alterations which the islands of Sylley have undergone since the time of the ancients who mention them, as to their number, extent, and position. In a letter to the reverend Thomas Birch, D. D. Sec. S. by the reverend Mr. William Borlase, M. A. F. R. S.—(*s*) Strabo informs us of this, and that one of the Phœnician traders having run his ship ashore to avoid the Romans, and drawing them into the like distress, at his return had the value of his cargo repaid him out of the public treasury.—(*t*) Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 176. It appears that the art of mining was well understood, and mines wrought very deep in some provinces in Spain.

was the younger Crassus, at that time lieutenant to Julius Cæsar in Gaul, and afterwards slain with his father, who bore the same names, by the Parthians (*u*). It is apparent therefore that commerce had rendered these isles celebrated amongst the most polite nations in Europe before Cæsar attempted the conquest of Britain, to which there is nothing unlikely in supposing that the report of Crassus might in some measure contribute. There is no room to doubt that they followed the fate of the rest of Britain, and particularly of Cornwall, in becoming subject to the Roman empire. We find them called in the itinerary of Antoninus, SIGDELES; by Sulpitius, SILULINÆ; and by Solinus they are termed SILURES (*w*). All we know of them during this period is, that their tin trade continued, and that sometimes state prisoners were exiled, or to use the Roman phrase, relegated hither, as well as to other islands (*x*).

At the time the legions were withdrawn, and Britain with its dependencies left in the power of the natives, there is no reason to question that these islands shared the same lot with the rest. As to the appellation which from this period prevailed, the ordinary way of writing it is Scilly; in records we commonly find it spelt Silly, Silley, or Sully; but we are told the old British appellation was Sulleh, or Sylleh, which signifies rocks consecrated to the Sun (*y*). We have not the least notice of any thing that regards them from the fifth to the tenth century. It is however, with much appearance of truth, conjectured, that sometime within this space they were in a great measure destroyed by an earthquake, attended with a sinking of the earth, by which most of their lowlands, and, of course, the greatest part of their improvements, were covered by the sea; and those rich mines of tin, which had rendered them famous, swallowed up in the deep. They have a tradition in Cornwall, that a very extensive tract of country, called the LIONESS, in the old Cornish Lethousow, supposed to lie between that country and Scilly, was lost in this manner; and there are many concurrent circumstances which render this probable (*z*). In reference to these islands the case is still stronger, for at low ebbs, their stone inclosures are still visible from almost all the isles, and thereby afford an ocular demon-

(*u*) Cæf. de Bel. Gallic. lib. iii. cap. 26, 27, 28. Plut. in Marc. Crass. Hist. du commerce des anciens, chap. xxxviii. p. 195.—(*w*) Polyhistor. cap. xxv. It is not improbable that Tacitus might mean the people of these islands when he asserts the Silures were descended from the Iberi in Spain, since we find this positively affirmed by other authors.—(*x*) Sulpit. Severi Hist. Sacre, lib. i.—(*y*) Borlase's ancient and present state of the islands of Scilly. Oxford 1756, 4°. p. 60. In support of which it may be observed, that there are more remains of the old druid monuments in these isles than in any other part of the British dominions, Anglesey and Cornwall (in which there are also many) not excepted.—(*z*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 3. Fuller's Worthies in Cornwall, p. 214. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 26.

stration that they were formerly of far greater extent, and that in remoter ages their inhabitants must have been very numerous, and at the same time very industrious (*a*). This sufficiently proves the fact, that by such an earthquake they were destroyed; and that it happened at some period of time within those limits that have been assigned, appears from our hearing nothing more of their tin trade, and from our having no notice of it at all in any of our ancient chronicles, which, if it had fallen out later, from their known attention to extraordinary events, must certainly have happened (*b*).

It is generally supposed, and with great appearance of truth, that king Athelstan, after having overcome a very powerful confederacy formed against him, and having reduced Exeter, and driven the Britons beyond the river Tamar, which he made the boundary of their Cornish dominions, passed over into these islands, then surely in a better state than now, or they would not have been objects of his vengeance, and reduced them likewise (*c*). Some are of opinion, that either at this time, or a little later, they were given to the Abby of Tavistock, of which however there is no certain evidence. History does not inform us that the Danes ever fixed themselves in these islands, but, as their method of fortifying is very well known, it has been conjectured that the Giant's Castle, in the isle of St. Mary, was erected by them; and indeed, if we consider the convenient situation of those islands, and the trade of piracy, which that nation carried on, there seems to be nothing improbable in that conjecture (*d*). It is more certain that there were churches erected in these isles, and that there were in them also many monks and hermits, before the conquest. It is out of all dispute that soon after that these isles were granted to the Benedictine monastery of Tavistock, and that they had a cell there dedicated to St. Nicholas (*e*). But notwithstanding this, and other subsequent grants, in consequence of which the monks of Tavistock, were stiled lords of Scilly, our kings sent governors thither, had fortresses in them, and granted lands; so that there were lay estates at all times in them, independent of the abbey of Tavistock, or the cell of St. Nicholas in Scilly (*f*).

(*a*) Heath's natural and historical account of the isles of Scilly, p. 238, 239. Borlase's ancient and present state of the isles of Scilly, p. 63 — (*b*) Hook's posthumous works, p. 308. where are several instances given of earthquakes of this sort — (*c*) Chronicon Saxonicum, p. 112, 113, 114. Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 5. Camdeni Britannia, p. 136. — (*d*) Borlase's ancient and present state of the islands of Scilly, p. 17. — (*e*) Monasticon Anglicanum, tom. i. p. 516. where it plainly appears, that what the abbey acquired had been possessed by other ecclesiastics, in the reigns of Canutus the Dane and Edward the Confessor. — (*f*) As none of these tenures, jurisdictions, or properties of any kind now subsist, it would answer no purpose to enter into any account of them.

IN Leland's account of these islands, we are told in one place that they were one hundred and forty-seven (*g*), in another that they were one hundred and forty (*h*). He makes St. Nicholas isle to be the biggest, and tells us there was in it a town of sixty households; but he distinguishes this expressly from Inisschawe, or the isle of Elders, so called from abundance of stinking elders that grew in it. In another place he tells us, that this Inisschawe, which some call Treschaw, belonged to Tavistock, and had a poor cell of monks, whence it is evident that this is St. Nicholas island, and says it is five miles in compass, whereas he makes St. Mary's (*i*) but five miles, or somewhat more. But in a third account still extant, and which I am persuaded is also Leland's, we are told that St. Mary's is the first and greatest of the Scilly islands, about five miles over, and nine miles in compass; that there was in it a parish church, a poor town of threescore households, beside a castle, plenty of corn, rabbits, wild swans, puffins, gulls, cranes, and other wild fowl in abundance. In that account he makes Rusco, which I take to be Inisschawe, Treschaw, or St. Nicholas, very near as big as St. Mary's; and the isle of St. Martin little inferior to that. We find in this account, which is much larger than either of those in the Itinerary, the names of upwards of thirty isles of different sizes. They seem to be distinguished into islands, islets, and rocks, or rockets. By the first, it is to be understood places inhabited; by the second, such as produced herbage, wild garlic, and had rabbits in them, so that they were of some benefit; the third were barren and useless (*k*). The fertility of the islands is much insisted upon in all the accounts; and it is expressly said of St. Mary's, that it bears exceeding good corn, insomuch that if men did but cast corn where swine had routed, it would come up (*l*). There is mention made of a breed of wild swine, and the inhabitants had great plenty of fowl and fish (*m*). But notwithstanding the fertility of the country, and the many commodities that men had, or might have there, it was, nevertheless, but thinly peopled, and the reason assigned is, because they were liable to be frequently spoiled by French or Spanish pirates. In his time one Mr. Davers of Wiltshire, and Mr. Whittington of Gloucester-

(*g*) Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 118. These notes (for the whole are no more) seem to be made in haste, and St. Nicholas to have been written for St. Mary's.—(*h*) Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 6. The particulars set down here are much more distinct, and seem derived from better information.—(*i*) Harrison's description of Britain p. 33, 34. He acknowledges assistance from Leland, who, besides his Itinerary, wrote a distinct work, of the islands belonging to Britain, which is now lost; and either out of this, or from some larger transcript of the Itinerary than any now extant, he composed his relation.—(*k*) This seems to be also the most natural and proper method of considering them, in case of making an actual and accurate survey of the Scillys.—(*l*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 6. This singular goodness of soil is acknowledged and asserted by the latest and best informed writers on this subject.—(*m*) It is evident from this plenty of provisions, that these islands are capable of maintaining as many inhabitants as any country of like extent.

shire, were proprietors of Scilly, and drew from thence, in rents and commodities, about forty marks a year (*n*).

THERE appears to be added to Mr. Leland's account this farther circumstance, by the publisher, that the inhabitants, at that juncture, and long before, carried on a small trade in dried skaite and other fish to Bretagne, with which they purchased salt, canvases, and other necessaries (*o*). This seems to be the remains of a very old kind of commerce, since, for many ages, the people of that country, those of the Scilly Isles, and the people of Cornwall, looked upon themselves as countrymen, being, in truth, no other than remnants of the ancient Britons, who, when driven out by the Saxons, took refuge in those islands, and in that part of France which had before been called Armorica, and from hence styled Bretagne, Brittany, or little Britain, and the people Bretons (*p*). This in all probability was a great relief to those who dwelt in these isles; who, during the long civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, had their intercourse with England so much interrupted, that if it had not been for this commerce with their neighbours on the French coast, they might have been driven to the last distress (*q*). But I forbear meddling farther with their history, as not immediately relating to my intention; and shall proceed next, to give the best account I can collect of these isles in their present situation.

THE Scilly, or Silley Islands, lie due west from the Lizard about seventeen leagues; west and by south from the old Land's End, nearest Mount's Bay, at the distance of ten leagues; and from the western Land's End they lie west-south-west, at the distance of something more than nine leagues (*r*). There are five of them inhabited; or, if you take in Samson, in which there is only one family, there are then six. The largest of these is St. Mary's, which lies in the north latitude of forty-nine degrees fifty-five minutes; and in the longitude of six degrees forty minutes, west from Greenwich (*s*). It is two miles and a half in length, about one and a half in breadth, and between nine and ten miles in compass. On the west side there projects an isthmus: Beyond this there is a pen-

(*n*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. ii. fol. 6. In the beginning of the fifteenth century a great part of these isles were possessed by Sir John Collaunt, and from this family they came by marriage to the gentlemen mentioned in the text.—(*o*) Harrison's description of Britain, p. 34. All this time Bretagne was a distinct sovereignty, dependent only on the crown of France.—(*p*) Gregor. Turonens. lib. x. cap. ix. D'Audiffret histoire et géographie ancienne et moderne, vol. ii. p. 235. Borlase's antiquities of Cornwall, chap. x. p. 39.—(*q*) It would be a very curious, though a difficult undertaking, to trace the correspondence of the old Britons with each other after their dispersion by the Saxons.—(*r*) Norden's topographical description of Cornwall, p. 4. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 20. Borlase's observations on the isles of Scilly, p. 75.—(*s*) Heath's account of the isles of Scilly, p. 159. But this being a point of great consequence to the navigation of Britain, the observations for settling its position precisely ought to be repeated.

insula, which is very high; and upon which stands Star Castle, built in 1593, with some outworks and batteries: On these there are upwards of threescore pieces of cannon mounted, and for the defence of which there is a garrison of an entire company, with a master-gunner and six other gunners; and in the magazine there are arms for three hundred islanders, who, when summoned, are bound to march into the fortrefs (*t*). Underneath the castle, barracks, and lines, stands Hugh Town, very improperly built, as lying so low as to be subject to inundations. A mile within land stands Church Town, so denominated from their place of worship; it consists of a few houses only, with a court-house. About two furlongs east of this lies the Old Town, where there are more houses, and some of them very convenient dwellings. The number of inhabitants in this island are about six or seven hundred, and it produces to the lord proprietor three hundred pounds per annum (*u*).

TRESCAW lies directly north from St. Mary's, at the distance of two miles. It was formerly stiled St. Nicholas's island, and was at least as large as St. Mary's, though at present about half the size (*w*). The remains of the abbey are yet visible, the situation well chosen, with a fine bason of fresh water before it, half a mile long and a furlong wide, with an ever-green bank high enough to keep out the sea, and serving at once to preserve the pond and shelter the abbey. In this pond there are most excellent eels, and the lands lying round it are by far the best in those islands (*x*). There are about half a score stone houses, with a church, which are called Dolphin Town, an old castle, built in the reign of Henry the Eighth, though, for a reason which will be hereafter given, called Oliver's Castle, and a new block-house, raised out of the ruins of that castle, which is of far greater use (*y*). This island is particularly noted for producing plenty of the finest samphire, and the only tin-works that are now visible are found here. There are upon it at present about forty families, who are very industrious, and spin more wool than in St. Mary's. Its annual value is computed at eighty pounds a year. (*z*).

(*t*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 857, 858. Harrison's description of Britain, p. 34. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 10, 11.—(*u*) Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 40. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 6.—(*w*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. iii. fol. 6. Harrison's description of Britain, p. 34. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 5—35.—(*x*) This confirms what we have more than once observed, as to the monks exquisite judgment in situations, and their being great improvers where-ever they were placed.—(*y*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 118. Harrison's description of Britain, p. 34. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 91.—(*z*) Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 41—49. Compare the size and rent of this island with the size and rent of St. Mary's, and consider improvement only makes the difference.

A MILE to the east of Trefcaw, and about two miles from the most northern part of St. Mary's, lies the isle of St. Martin, not much inferior in size to that of Trefcaw. It very plainly appears to have been formerly extremely well cultivated; notwithstanding which, it was entirely deserted, till within somewhat less than a century ago, that Mr. Thomas Ekins, a considerable merchant, engaged some people to settle there. He likewise caused to be erected a hollow tower, twenty feet in height, with a spire of as many feet more; which being neatly covered with lime, serves as a day mark for directing ships crossing the channel, or coming into Scilly (*a*). St. Martin's produces some corn, affords the best pasture in these islands, nourishes a great number of sheep, has upon it seventeen families, who pretend to have the secret of burning the best kelp, and are extremely attached to their own island. As a proof of this it is observable, that, though some of the inhabitants rent lands in St. Mary's, yet they continue to reside here, going thither only occasionally (*b*).

ST. AGNES, which is also called the LIGHT-HOUSE island, lies near three miles south-west of St. Mary's, and is, though a very little, a very well cultivated island, fruitful in corn and grass. The only inconvenience to which the people who live in it are subject, is the want of good water, as their capital advantage consists in having several good coves, or small ports, where boats may lie with safety, which however are not much used (*c*). The light-house is the principal ornament and great support of the island, which stands on the most elevated ground, built with stone from the foundation to the lanthorn, which is fifty-one feet high, the gallery four, the sash-lights eleven feet and a half high, three feet two inches wide, and sixteen in number. The floor of the lanthorn is of brick, upon which stands a substantial iron grate, square, barred on every side, with one great chimney in the canopy roof, and several lesser ones to let out the smoke, and a large pair of smith's bellows are so fixed, as to be easily used whenever there is occasion. Upon the whole, it is a noble and commodious structure, and being plaistered white, is a useful day-mark to all ships coming from the southward (*d*). The keeper of this light-house has a salary, from the Trinity house at Deptford, of forty pounds a year, with a dwelling house and

(*a*) Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 54, 55. We may from hence conceive what advantages might arise from settling up perches on the most dangerous rocks about these isles.—(*b*) Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 93. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 55. There are about seven hundred and twenty acres of useful land in this beautiful island.—(*c*) But if the number of the inhabitants were increased, and their fisheries improved, every one of them would become useful, which is the reason of their being mentioned.—(*d*) Authority to direct and construct Beacons, or sea-lights, was committed to the corporation of the Holy Trinity at Deptford Strand, by a statute 9^o Elizabethæ.

ground for a garden. His assistant has twenty pounds a year. It is supplied with coals by an annual ship, and the carriage of these coals from the sea-side to the light-house is looked on as a considerable benefit to the poor inhabitants (*e*). They have a neat little church, built by the Godolphin family. There are at present fifty households in the island, which yield the proprietor forty pounds a year (*f*).

BREHAR, or, as pronounced, BRYER island, lies north-west of St. Mary's, and to the west of Trefcaw, to which, when the sea is very low, they sometimes pass over the sand. It is very mountainous, abounds with sea and land fowls, excellent samphire, and a great variety of medicinal herbs. There are at present thirteen families, who have a pretty church, and pay thirty pounds a year to the proprietor (*g*).

SOUTH from hence, and west from Trefcaw, stands the island of Samson, in which there is not above one family, who subsist chiefly by the making of kelp (*h*). To the westward of these there lie four islands, which contain in the whole, three hundred and sixty acres of meadow and arable land. The eastern isles, so denominated from their position in respect to St. Mary's, contain one hundred and twenty-three acres; and there are also seven other rocky and scattered islands, that have each a little land of some use; and besides these, innumerable rocks on every side, among which we must reckon SCILLY, now nothing more than a large, ill-shaped, craggy, inaccessible island, lying the farthest north-west of any of them, and consequently the nearest to the continent (*i*).

THE AIR of these islands is equally mild and pure; their winters are seldom subject to frost or snow. When the former happens, it lasts not long, and the latter never lies upon the ground. The heat of their summers is much abated by sea breezes. They are indeed frequently incommoded by sea fogs, but then these are not unwholesome. Agues are rare, and fevers more so. The most fatal distemper is the small-pox; yet those who live temperately survive commonly to a great age, and are remarkably free from diseases (*k*). The soil is very good, and produces grain of all sorts, except wheat, of which they had anciently plenty, in large quantities. They

(*e*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 14. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 87.—(*f*) Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 36—39.—(*g*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 14, 15. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 93. Borlase's observations on the Scilly islands p. 55—57.—(*h*) This little isle contains about one hundred and twenty acres of serviceable land, and might maintain many more inhabitants than are now settled upon it very comfortably.—(*i*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 14, 15. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 24. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 59.—(*k*) Harrison's description of Britain, p. 34. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 132. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 66.

still grow a little, but the bread made of it is unpleasant (*l*). They eat, for this reason, chiefly what is made of barley; and of this they have such abundance, that though they use it both for bread and beer, they have more than suffices for their own consumption. Potatoes is a new improvement, and they prosper to such a degree, that in some places, they have two crops in a year (*m*). Roots of all sorts, pulse, and fallads grow well, dwarf fruit-trees, gooseberries, currants, raspberries, and every thing of that kind, under proper shelter, thrive exceedingly; but they have no trees, though formerly they had elder, and porthelik, i. e. the harbour of willows, proves they had these likewise; and with a little care, no doubt, great improvements might be made (*n*). The ranuncula, anemone, and most kinds of flowers, are successfully cultivated in their gardens. They have wild fowl of all sorts, from the swan to the snipe; and a particular kind called the hedge chicken, which is not inferior to the ortolan: tame fowl, puffsins, and rabbits in great numbers (*o*). Their black cattle are generally small, but very well tasted, though they feed upon ore weed. Their horses are little, but strong and lively. They have also large flocks of fine sheep, their fleeces tolerably good, and their flesh excellent. There are no venomous creatures in these islands (*p*).

WE must now pass to the sea, which is of more consequence to these isles than that small portion of land which is distributed amongst them. St. Mary's harbour is very safe and capacious, having that island on the south, the eastern islands, with that of St. Martin on the east, Trefcaw, Breher, and Samson to the north, St. Agnes and several small islands to the west. Ships ride here in three to five fathom water, with good anchorage. Into and out of this harbour there are four inlets, viz. Broad Sound, Smith's Sound, St. Mary's Sound, and Crow Sound; so that hardly any wind can blow with which a ship of one hundred and fifty tons cannot safely sail through one or other of them, Crow Sound only excepted, where they cannot pass at low water, but at high there is from sixteen to twenty-four feet in this passage (*q*). Besides these there are two other harbours, one called New Grynsey,

(*l*) Rot. Clauf. 32 Hen. III. m. 2. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 180. Borlase's observations on the island of Scilly, p. 63.—(*m*) Potatoes are now so generally cultivated in these islands, that with their fish, they make almost the daily food of the common sort of people.—(*n*) The fences in these isles, as in Cornwall, though called hedges, are composed only of stones laid one upon another, without mortar or any kind of cement. As soon as trees rise above these the sea sprays destroys them. In Norway they have a kind of water-elder (Vand-hyl) which is not affected in this manner, and fences of this elder might be used to cover and protect other trees.—(*o*) Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 83. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 80, 81, 82.—(*p*) It is amazing, in a country where they might be bred to so much advantage, goats have not been hitherto introduced.—(*q*) Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 7—15.

which

which lies between Brehar and Trescaw, where ships of three hundred tons may ride securely. The other is called Old Grynsey, and lies between Trescaw, St. Helen's, and Theon, for smaller ships. The former is guarded by the batteries at Oliver's Castle, the latter by the Blockhouse, on the eastern side of Trescaw, called Dover (*r*). Small coasters, bound to the northward, have more convenient outlets from these little harbours than from St. Mary's, where, at the west end of Hugh Town, there is a fine pier, built by the present earl of Godolphin, four hundred and thirty feet long, twenty feet wide in the narrowest part, and twenty three feet in height, with sixteen feet of water at a spring, and ten at a neap tide, so that under the shelter of this pier vessels of one hundred and fifty tons may lie securely, not only close to the quay, but all along the strand of the town (*s*).

In this harbour, and in all the little coves of the several isles, prodigious quantities of mackerel may be caught in their season. Seal, turbot, and plaice, remarkably good in their kind. Ling, which from its being a thicker fish, mellowed, and better fed, is very justly preferred to any caught nearer our own coasts. Salmon, cod, pollock in great plenty, and pilchards in vast abundance. To these we may add, the alga marina, fucus, or oreweed, which serves to feed both their small and great cattle, manures their lands, is burned into kelp, is of use in physic, is sometimes preserved, sometimes pickled, and, besides all these, is in many other respects very beneficial to the inhabitants of whom we are next to speak (*t*).

THE people of Scilly in general are robust, handsome, active, hardy, industrious, generous, and good-natured; speak the English language with great propriety, have strong natural parts, (though for want of a good school they have little education) (*u*) as appears by their dexterity in the several employments to which they are bred. They cultivate most of their lands as well as can be expected under their present circumstances. They are bred from their infancy to the management of their boats, in which they excel; are good fishermen, and excellent pilots (*w*). Their women are admirable housewives, spin their own wool, weave it into coarse cloth,

(*r*) Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 47. It is apparent from their remains that there was hardly a landing-place in these islands which was not anciently fortified.—(*s*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 14, 15. Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 71. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 14.—(*t*) They have done this in common with most other islands and many of the sea-coasts of Britain; and though they employ the Alga to so many different purposes, yet we shall hereafter see that there are people in some other places who use it still to more.—(*u*) The proprietor would be at the expence of a schoolmaster, but the distance is so great that a proper person is not easily to be procured.—(*w*) It is apparent therefore that every man who inhabits these islands, as soon as he arrives at that state, is a seaman, and so continues as long as he has health.

and knit stockings. They have no timber of their own growth, and not much from England; yet they have many joiners and cabinet-makers, who, out of the fine woods which they obtain from captains of ships who put in here, make all kinds of domestic furniture in a very neat manner (*x*). They are free from the land-tax, malt-tax, and excise, and being furnished with plenty of liquors from the vessels which are driven into their roads, for refreshment, for necessary repairs, or to wait for a fair wind, in return for provisions, and other conveniencies; this, with what little fish they can cure, makes the best part of their trade, if we except their kelp, which has been a growing manufacture for these fourscore years, and produces at present about five hundred pounds per annum (*y*).

THE right honourable the earl of Godolphin is styled proprietor of Scilly, in virtue of letters patent granted to the late earl, then lord Godolphin, dated the 25th of July 1698, for the term of eighty-nine years, to be computed from the end and expiration of a term of fifty years, granted to Francis Godolphin Esq; by King Charles the First; that is, from the year 1709 to 1798, when this lease determines (*z*). In virtue of this royal grant, his Lordship is the sole owner of all lands, houses, and tenements, claims all the tythes, not only of the fruits of the earth, but of fish taken at sea, and landed upon those premises, harbour-duties paid by ships, and one moiety of the wrecks, the other belonging to the admiralty (*a*). There is only one ecclesiastical person upon the islands, who resides at St. Mary's, and visits the other inhabited islands once a year. But divine service is performed, and sermons preached, or rather read, every Sunday in the churches of those islands, by an honest layman appointed for that purpose;

(*x*) Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 68. Any improvements may be reasonably expected in places so happily situated, and where the people have naturally both industry and ingenuity.—(*y*) The making of kelp was introduced from Cornwall by Mr. Nance in 1684. At first it was sold for eighteen, now risen to between forty and fifty shillings per ton, so that in a favourable year a man may acquire five or six pounds by cutting and burning kelp.—(*z*) The name of this ancient and illustrious family was taken from the most conspicuous part of their inheritance before the Norman conquest; Godalphan, rather Godalchan Ball, that is, White Eagle Hill, in the old Cornish dialect of the British tongue, in Kerrier Hundred in the county of Cornwall. The first who had any command in the Scilly Isles was Sir William Godalchan in the reign of Henry the Eighth. He dying without issue left his estate and interest to Francis Godolphin, afterwards Sir Francis Godolphin, who built Star Castle, and to whom Queen Elizabeth, by indenture, leased these isles in 1571 for thirty-eight years, with a reserved rent of ten pounds, which was raised to twenty by King James the First, who renewed that lease for fifty years, and was again raised to forty pounds per annum by Charles the First, who granted them for fifty years from the determination of the last grant, and this extension brought it as low as 1709, from whence the lease now subsisting commences, as is above mentioned; so that the Godolphins have been proprietors near one hundred and ninety years.—(*a*) The grants or leases entire, with those made by Queen Elizabeth, King James the First, and Charles the First, to the ancestors of this noble peer, may be found in Mr. Heath's book.

and

and there are, likewise, churchwardens and overseers, regularly chosen, in every parish (*b*). As to the civil government, it is administered by what is called the COURT of TWELVE; in which the commander in chief, the proprietor's agent, and the chaplain, have their seats, in virtue of their offices; the other nine are chosen by the people (*c*). These decide, or rather compromise, all differences; and punish small offences by fines, whippings, and the ducking-stool: as to greater enormities, we may conclude they have not been hitherto known; since, except for the soldiers, there is no prison (*d*) in the islands. But, in case of capital offences, the criminals may be transported to, and brought to justice in, the county of Cornwall.

THE great importance of these islands arises from their advantageous situation, as looking equally into St. George's Channel, which divides Great-Britain from Ireland, and the English Channel, which separates Britain from France. For this reason, most ships bound from the southward strive to make the Scilly islands, in order to steer their course with greater certainty. It is very convenient also for vessels to take shelter amongst them, which prevents their being driven to Milford Haven, nay, sometimes into some port in Ireland, if the wind is strong at east; or, if it blows hard at north-west, from being forced back into some of the Cornish harbours, or even on the French coasts. If the wind should not be very high, yet if unfavourable or unsteady, as between the channels often happens, it is better to put into Scilly, than to beat about at sea in bad weather (*e*). The intercourse between those two channels is another motive why ships come in here, as chusing rather to wait in safety for a wind, than to run the hazard of being blown out of their course; and, therefore, a strong gale at east seldom fails of bringing thirty or forty vessels, and frequently a larger number, into Scilly; not more to their own satisfaction, than to that of the inhabitants (*f*). Ships homeward-bound from America often touch there, from the desire of making the first land in their power, and for the sake of refreshment. Some or other of these reasons have an influence on foreign ships, as well as our own, and afford the natives an opportunity of shewing their wonderful dexterity, in conducting them safely into St. Mary's harbour, and,

(*b*) If the number of people in each of the inhabited islands were trebled, they might well afford to keep a person in Deacon's orders, as a minister and school-maiter.—(*c*) One cannot help admiring that, in an age like this, and at such a distance from the seat of government, so simple an institution should suffice to keep the people in order.—(*d*) Heath's account of the islands of Scilly, p. 110, 111. from whence it appears, that military justice is sometimes retarded (the prisoner remaining all the time in a damp dismal dungeon) for want of officers to form a court martial.—(*e*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 15. Borlase's observations on the islands of Scilly, p. 126, 127.—(*f*) As this is the principal source of profit to the inhabitants, so every method of improving it ought to be put in their power.

when the wind serves, through their sounds. Upon firing a gun, and making a waft, a boat immediately puts off from the nearest islands, with several pilots on board; and having with amazing activity, dropped one of them into every ship, till only two men are left in the boat, these return again to land, as the wind and other circumstances direct, in one of their little coves (*g*).

IN time of war, the importance of these islands is still more conspicuous; and it is highly probable, that they afforded the allies a place for assembling their fleet, when the Britons, Danes, Scots, and Irish, sailed under the command of ANLAFF, to attack King ATHELSTAN; which convinced him of the necessity of adding them to his dominions (*h*). Upon the like principle, Henry the Eighth when upon bad terms with his neighbours, caused an old fortress to be repaired; and Queen Elizabeth, who had more to fear, directed the construction of a castle, which, in part at least, still remains (*i*). But the most singular instance of the detriment that might arise from these islands falling into other hands than our own, happened in 1651, when Sir John Greenville took shelter in them, with the remains of the Cornish cavaliers. For the depredations committed by his frigates soon made it evident, that Scilly was the key of the English commerce; and the clamours of the merchants thereupon rose so high, that the parliament were forced to send a fleet of fifty sail, with a great body of land forces on board, under Sir George Ayscue, and Admiral Blake, who with great difficulty, and no inconsiderable loss, made themselves masters of Trefscaw, and Brehar; where they erected those lines and fortifications, near the remains of the old fortress, that are called Oliver's Castle (*k*). But at length, finding that little was to be done in that way, they chose to grant Sir John Greenville a most honourable capitulation, as the surest means to recover places of such consequence; with which the parliament were very little satisfied, till Mr. Blake gave them his reasons, which appeared to be so well founded, that they directed the articles he had concluded to be punctually carried into execution (*l*).

AMONGST the reasons urged by Admiral Blake in support of his own conduct, one of the most weighty and conclusive was, that the Dutch, jealous of the new commonwealth of Eng-

(*g*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 15. Heath's account of the Scilly islands, p. 71, 72, 73. Borlase's observations on the Scilly Islands, p. 125, 126—(*h*) Aluredi Beverlacensis, Annal. lib. viii. p. 54. Leland's Itinerary, v. iii. 5.—Camdeni Britannia, p. 136—(*i*) Harrison's description of Britain, p. 34. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 85.—Curson's Compendium of the laws and government of England, p. 440.—(*k*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 493. Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 284. History of the Civil Wars in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326.—(*l*) Sir George Wharton, in his Gesta Britannorum, p. 465. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 465. The original articles, a M. S. in folio, of two sheets, are still preserved in the library of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts.

land, had actually treated with Sir John Greenville for the sale of these islands, known to them by the name of the Sorlings, and had offered no less than one hundred thousand pounds for the purchase of them (*m*); and had sent their admiral Van Tromp, with a strong squadron, and the money on board, in order, if the bargain had been concluded, to take possession of them. But Sir John Greenville was too much an Englishman to come into such an agreement, though he made use of it to procure better terms; and then, by order, of King Charles the Second, who was in Scotland, surrendered the premisses to the parliament; who established a considerable force in them, causing the old fortifications to be repaired, and new ones to be erected (*n*). It is evident, from hence, that the Dutch understood perfectly well the value of these islands, since they would not only have paid for them at so round a rate, but would have broke, without ceremony, with the government then subsisting in England, rather than have parted with them (*o*). In their subsequent war with King Charles the Second, they had views upon the Isle of Wight, and, as we shall see elsewhere, have been for purchasing islands dependant on the crown of Scotland (*p*); for which no adequate cause can be assigned, but their apprehending that they know the value of such countries better than we; and that in this they are not mistaken, has already, in some measure, appeared, and will still more fully and clearly appear, before we come to the conclusion of the present section.

It is evident, from the history that we have already delivered of these isles, that they were sunk into the lowest and most deplorable state possible, except being utterly abandoned, and that they were at the very eve of this, when they were leased by the crown to the present noble family who have so long enjoyed them; and to whose care, protection, and expence, the state they are in is wholly and justly to be ascribed (*q*). It may, with probability, also be farther presumed, that having now, according to the most accurate accounts we could procure, between a thousand and fifteen hundred inhabitants, there are no just grounds for expecting that much more will, or indeed can be done, towards augmenting the

(*m*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 77. Manley's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 253. Lord Lansdown's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 256, 257.—(*n*) Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, chap. ix. Hobbes's *History of the Civil War*, p. 288. Heath's *Account of the Isles of Scilly*, p. 209, 210.—(*o*) The resolution the Dutch had taken, to dispute the dominion of the sea with England, induced them to secure these islands, as the first fruits of that naval empire they meant to assume; and, no doubt, before they carried things thus far, they had formed a scheme for fortifying, improving, and preserving them.—(*p*) *Lettres, Mémoires et Négociations de Monsieur Le Comte d'Estades*, tom. iii. p. 456. Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 525. Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 347.—(*q*) These successive grants seem to declare a trust reposed in the lessees by the crown, for the public benefit; and to the immortal honour of the GODOLPHIN family, no trust was ever more effectually discharged; and as to the difficulties mentioned in the text, they do not either proceed from the proprietor, or are at all in his power to redress.

prosperity, unless those difficulties are removed which visibly impede such a design, and some other helps are bestowed, which might have a tendency to promote it (*r*). To both these points we will speak as succinctly as, with due regard to perspicuity, it is possible. In the first place, the inhabitants have no proper tenure in their real or personal estates; indeed, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as a real estate in those islands. The lands are let only for twenty-one years, the houses belong to, and are repaired by the proprietor, are managed by his agent, and no new tenement can be erected but by his leave, and on such terms as he shall judge reasonable (*s*). Now, if we compare the shortness of these tenures with the nature of the improvements that are required, and which must consist in fencing, draining, and planting, it is manifest that no such improvements will ever be undertaken (*t*). In the next place, there is, in reality, no proper or established civil government; the commander in chief being, in effect, the first magistrate, and the court of twelve wanting the authority and rule of action which is requisite in a well-governed community. The military force, likewise, which is usually fixed at only a single company of forty men, and those invalids, is too small for the protection of the islands, or even for the bare defending the fortifications that have been already made, at a great expence; and which, for the honour and security of the nation, ought to be always kept in the best order (*u*). The same indulgence is not shewn to them, as to the inhabitants of the other islands, in respect to the duty upon salt; which restrains their fishery, and is a very sensible check on that species of industry, which would soonest and most effectually put it into their power to enter upon farther improvements (*w*). Lastly they have no stated, regular, or certain correspondence with the continent of Britain, which, for many reasons, they ought to have, and for want of which their necessities and distresses may be unknown to their mother-country, 'till they become desperate, and past redress, as, in case of any sudden attack from foreign enemies with a tolerable force, might easily happen; and against which, for that and for various weighty considerations, it becomes us most certainly to guard, at least till, by removing the former diffi-

(*r*) All that is aimed at by these proposals, is to make the Scilly Islands worth much to this nation, as the price once offered for them by our neighbours.—(*s*) Beath's Account of the Islands of Scilly, p. 83. Borlase's observations, p. 131—9.—(*t*) Whatever the inhabitants acquire, must be by hard labour and great industry; to induce them, therefore, to lay this out upon the soil, the legislature should grant them (or enable the proprietor to grant) a settled property.—(*u*) It might be expedient to form the islanders into a regular battallion of militia, exercising them constantly once a week, and keeping each company (at Soldiers pay) on duty in the castle, lines, and lock-houses, for two months successively; which would be beneficial to the people, preserve the fortifications, and barracks in good order, and secure these islands effectually, at a small expence.—(*w*) Stat. 2 and 3 Ann. cap. 14. sect. 9. A drawback is allowed on all salt exported to the Isle of Man, to Jersey, and to Guernsey. The reasons hold as well to the Isles of Scilly.

culties, the people in these isles shall be put thereby into such a situation as may qualify them to remove this themselves, which they will speedily and naturally do, as soon as their circumstances shall permit (*x*).

As things stand at present, the Scilly Islands, though part of the British dominions, are of very little use to Britain, and yield scarce any return to the public, for the small but constant annual expence with which the protection of them, in their present state, is necessarily attended (*y*). But if all the beforementioned difficulties were taken away, and a regular communication was once established, things would very quickly alter; every habitable island would be improved, the number of inhabitants increased, and new species of industry being introduced, would of course become new sources of subsistence (*z*); more especially if a few additional helps were added, which might be afforded without any great expence, and would be productive of such certain benefits, as could not fail of reimbursing that expence very soon. There is a wide difference between lavishing away public money, and laying it out for proper purposes: the former is profusion, the latter is œconomy (*a*). A striking instance of this occurs in the very islands of which we are speaking: before the light-house was erected upon St. Agnes island, not a winter passed unmarked by misfortunes, insomuch that the Scillies were infamous for shipwrecks. But since that time, very few have happened, and those either from storms, carelessness, or the ignorance of pilots (*b*). That light-house is not much above half a century old, and the very duties which have been paid on the cargoes that it has preserved, would much more than defray the costs of those auxiliary establishments which seem to be necessary.

In the first place, there ought to be a good school founded at St. Mary's, and put under the care of two or three able

(*x*) If they had once a considerable fishery, their little boats, which are admirable in their kind, and built in St. Mary's, would be quickly swelled into decked vessels; and the fetching flour, salt, coals, timber, and other necessaries, and the carrying fish, kelp, malt, and the like commodities, would make the people strike into manufactures and commerce, of which their ancestors never heard.—(*y*) The converting, by a little attention and a moderate expence, of a certain, though small dead charge, into a great and growing profit, is an object proper for national wisdom to undertake; and which private interest, having for means offered, will suddenly and certainly effect. But, without this additional disbursement, the small annual charge will, in length of time, rise to a large sum, and a much larger, which might have been annually gained, be for ever lost.—At present, the people live here, as it were, by chance, sometimes in plenty, much oftner in penury; or as their own proverb (the sapience, as Lord Bacon calls it, of the multitude) more emphatically expresses it, "A feast or a famine on Scilly." Where maintenance depends not on foresight, but accident, it is very natural for mankind, whenever an opportunity offers, to drown, in the joy of to-day, the remembrance of yesterday, and their fears for to-morrow.—(*a*) There is plainly a necessity in the present case; for, if the public will do nothing for these isles, they never can be of any farther use to the public.—(*b*) Burchet's Natural History, p. 733. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 13. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 14, 15.

persons

persons, capable of instructing the youth of the island in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and such amongst them as manifest an extraordinary pregnancy of parts, and suitable application, in other branches of useful practical knowledge: such as the elements of geometry, navigation, and mechanics (*c*). If these persons had handsome salaries for their lives, a small endowment for the school would procure them successors from amongst their own scholars; and there is no doubt, that, as the circumstances of the inhabitants grew better, they would supply any deficiencies, as they are very sensible of the want of education, and of books and other means of instruction. If one of the persons thus sent had a turn to husbandry and botany, it would be so much the better; because, as those who have visited these islands unanimously agree, many things might be done, and lands which at present yield very little, be raised to a considerable value (*d*).

It would be very expedient to erect public magazines, for holding goods saved out of wrecks, or extracted from the sea by diving, and settling the terms of salvage by law; directing also the distribution of it, in an equitable and certain proportion, so that there should remain no foundation for complaint on the part of the owner, or of the inhabitants, who very frankly and constantly expose their persons, and their small craft, for the preservation of people and goods; and, which is natural enough, think their labours and dangers in so doing deserve a suitable recompence (*e*).

It might be also a real point of policy to establish a diving engine, and a small company here, under certain regulations; as there are known many, and some of these very richly laden vessels, to have perished unhappily upon the adjacent rocks (*f*); from whence chests of silver and other things of value might be recovered, if the title to the goods so recovered was by law put beyond dispute. It is of some importance also, that an art which the learned, ingenious, and industrious

(*c*) The plantation of science seems to be incumbent on the mother country; the cultivation belongs to those who are to reap its fruits.—(*d*) This would not only do service to these islands, but provide for some man of merit, and wipe off the reproach of making those rich who administer to the pleasures, and suffering those to starve who render essential services to the age.—(*e*) It is chiefly punctilios ill understood, clashing authorities, and antiquated claims, that have hindered these points from being long ago adjusted, from whence these accidental evils have been entailed and heightened; whereas, if a general law was once made, plain in substance and easily executed, these misfortunes would receive all the alleviations, of which, in their nature, they are susceptible.—(*f*) As for instance, a West India ship, homeward bound, in 1736, with much silver on board; a Dutch East India ship, outward-bound, with treasure on board, in 1743; to say nothing of older wrecks: From whence (the property being vested, by law, in the recoverer) much might be still extracted, and success would excite men to perfect the art, and, for some time at least, confine it to these islands, where it might be practised with success.

Dr. Halley, brought in a manner to the perfection, should be preserved and practised by British subjects (*g*).

It would be right to give encouragement for the procuring salt in these islands, either by the heat of the sun in ponds, which, the latitude and some other circumstances considered, seems to be very practicable; or, 'till that can be accomplished, by boiling the salt water; and, as they already make a great quantity of lime and kelp, some ingenious and industrious person might contrive means, not only to burn these, but able to boil sea water into salt, with one and the same fire; which, if it was once discovered, and actually carried into execution in any one place, would be very speedily performed in all the islands, and prove highly serviceable to their fisheries (*h*).

THREE is one thing more I would add, and it is this; that, under proper regulations, and the goods being deposited in proper warehouses, commodities, not quickly perishable, might remain here till merchants could conveniently transport and pay duty for them, in any of the ports of Britain (*i*). If it should be objected, that this would be an encouragement to smuggling, I must observe, that there is a custom-house already established here; that the warehouses for depositing such goods, till the duties were paid, might be under the care of the officers; and that if they had a dock, with a vessel or two, the communication with Britain might be put also under their direction (*k*); and such measures taken, as to produce a valuable commerce between these islands and their mother-country, without any possibility of frauds being committed, at least with impunity (*l*).

IN order to convince the impartial and intelligent reader, that these are not gratuitous suppositions, or political amusements, it will be proper to close this article with an appeal to the evidence of facts (*m*). If, as a very capable and judicious person, from his own observations, concluded, all the inhabited islands, together with some that are now abandoned, formerly made but one, of which Scilly was the north west promontory, this was in ancient times, as the vestiges still apparent

(*g*) Works of the honourable Robert Boyle, vol. i. p. 69. vol. iii. p. 157. 165. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. xxix. N^o. 349. p. 492. See also the improvements made by Capt. Martin Tierwald (military architect to his Swedish majesty) to the diving bell; of which there is an extract in the Philosophical Transactions, N^o. 444. p. 337 — (*h*) The drawback before proposed should be first given, and then such encouragements as may be requisite to make any of these methods take place — (*i*) In countries where goods are charged with very high duties, this seems to be no more than a natural and equitable indulgence, which merchants have reason to expect. — (*j*) Some judicious persons have thought the Moorish ground at Porthellick, in St. Mary's, an old harbour silted up: but nobody doubts, that, with a very small charge, a commodious haven may be there made, which would answer all these purposes. — (*k*) It is a point often difficult, but never impracticable, to reconcile the interest of the revenue with the public interest — (*m*) Borlase, p. 87. 97. where this ingenious writer has treated this matter very copiously, and with much penetration, sagacity, and learning.

clearly shew, much better inhabited, more thoroughly cultivated, and of far greater consequence, than the remains of it now are; though by having a capacious harbour in the middle, and those four sounds which have been before mentioned, one should be led to imagine, that the benefits which might be derived from the sea would compensate for the loss of land. As it now stands, it is very little, if at all, less than the island of Texel in West Frizeland, or North Holland, which lies in a much worse climate; is also inferior in point of soil; has, indeed, a very capacious but very indifferent port, and yet very far surpasses these isles, in the number of inhabitants, and in all other circumstances that depend on human contrivance (*n*): For this isle has, besides a strong fortress on the south side, one pretty large town, five populous villages, several small hamlets, and a multitude of farm-houses (*o*). All this is owing to its situation, at the entrance of the passage through the Zuyder-Zee to Amsterdam; to the care of the States in providing it with very strong expensive dykes to keep out the sea, and every thing else requisite to its security; to the procuring for those who dwell there many of the advantages which have been above suggested; such as settling the rates of pilotage, favouring the fisheries, and affording them, who are by no means a better sort of people than those in the Scillys, the several encouragements they want, and every kind of protection and emolument that they can desire (*p*). In consequence of these assistances, which arise only from principles of true policy, the people are enabled to live comfortably, to draw from their lands more, than from the nature of them, could possibly be expected; though this, indeed, falls short of their subsistence. But the deficiency they labour under in that respect, is abundantly made up by their industry in fishing; by their becoming many ways useful to ships outward and homeward-bound; by the entertainment of strangers waiting for fair winds; and a great variety of other circumstances (*q*), similar to those, which in respect to the manners of our own islanders, have been before described. The result of this singular attention is, that,

(*n*) This is the true test, in respect to the value of countries; for what men are able to effect in one place, they may be enabled, by like means, to compass in another — (*o*) *Dictionnaire Geographique du Pais Bas*. D'Audiffret, *Histoire et Geographie ancienne et moderne*, tom. ii. p. 550. Du Bois *Geographie moderne*, tom. i. p. 388. — (*p*) The men of war, fleets destined for England, the Mediterranean, Africa, and the East Indies, rendezvous at, and return to the Texel; those to the north, the whale fishing, and the Baltick, at the Ulie, or Ulielandt, another island, a few miles distant. By this equal distribution of advantages, and constant attention of the public (that is, the government) to the interests of private persons, they are effectually promoted, and the state flourishes of course. — (*q*) Vessels are sometimes wind-bound here for six weeks; during which, part of the crew and most of the passengers live on shore, which preserves their health, and contributes to their ease, while at the same time, it enriches the inhabitants; who are (which cannot be said of our people in the Scillys) in circumstances to supply them abundantly with whatever they want, and, consequently to improve such incidents to the utmost. The number of ships, one year with another, is between two and three thousand.

in the annual assessment of taxes for North Holland, this island pays seventy thousand guilders (*r*); which explains the mystery in the treaty with Sir John Greenville, and shews pretty plainly, how islands may be worth one hundred thousand pounds to some people, though, from mere negligence, yielding little or nothing to others.—But it is now high time to proceed.

THE island we are next to mention was known to the Romans by the name of *Mona*; which is evidently no more, than the softening the British appellation *Mon*, or *Tir Môn*, the furthest land (*s*). It was, indeed, in regard to this of Britain, another isle, and, in respect to situation, the remotest from the continent. It had a second name also, derived from its being almost entirely covered with wood, and this was *Inis Touil*; or, as the moderns write it, *Ynys Dywyll*, the shady island (*t*); and though now a very open country, yet that it was once in this condition, appears plainly, from the numbers of large trees that are dug up therein, and which, consequently, must have grown there (*u*). It was this that in a very peculiar manner recommended it to the DRUIDS; who, when driven by the Roman conquerors from among the British people, as enthusiastic lovers of liberty, and consequently enemies to their power, took shelter in this shady isle; whence it was called by a third name, *Ynys y Cedeirn*, that is, the island of Heroes (*w*). Here they were in hopes of remaining in peace; but the Roman ambition knowing no bounds, Caius Suetonius Paulinus, having overcome the Ordovices, who inhabited the adjacent country, resolved also to pass over into *Mona*, and to extirpate the Druids, who had chosen it for their retreat (*x*). With this view he prepared flat-bottomed boats for transporting his infantry, the horse, being able to swim over the narrow strait that divides this isle from the continent, and by the vigour and valour of the Roman forces easily overthrew a race of unarmed people, who opposed him only with cries, execrations, and unavailing curses, the poor resources of barbarous superstition. But, before he had well effected his conquest, he was recalled by a general insurrection of the countries behind him, under the conduct of that famous heroine *Boadicea*, or *Bonduca*, which procured the remnant of the Druids a short respite of fifteen years; when the island was again attacked, and totally reduced, by Julius

(*r*) Temple's Observations on the Netherlands, chap. iii. p. 125. Le Hollandois, p. iii. let. 48. p. 351. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, vol. i. chap. 1.—(*s*) Girald. Cambrensis Itiner. Cambriae, lib. ii. cap. vii. Humfredi Lloyd Fragm. Brit. Descript. fol. 53. Camdeni Britannia, p. 540.—(*t*) Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, Dublin, 1723. 4°. p. 24. Hearne's Collection of Curious discourses, p. 214. Baxteri Glossarium Antiq. Britan. p. 218.—(*u*) Leland's Itinerary, vol. v. fol. 13. Dr. Childrey's *Britannia Baconica*, p. 150. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, N°. cclxxv.—(*w*) Pont. Virunni. Britan. Hist. lib. iv. Lelandi Genethliac. Edwardi Principis, p. 24, 25. *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 96.—(*x*) Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. Id. in vit. Agricola. Xiphilin. & Dion. lib. lxii.

Agricola (*y*). To the whole of this relation, given us by one of the most accurate Roman historians, the numerous monuments of their sacred rites, the ancient names of places, and many other indubitable as well as indelible characters, afford concurrent testimonies (*z*). To these we may probably add, the very old and common British saying, *Mon Mam Gymrie*; *Mon*, the mother, or nurse, of Wales; for though this is usually understood of its fertility, yet it seems to be more applicable to its being the residence of the Druids, whom the primitive unconquered Britons, held to be the parents of science and guardians of society (*a*). After this conquest *Mona*, as a part of the province styled *Britannia Secunda*, remained subject to these prudent and powerful people; who have also left some remains, though not of public or private buildings, yet of coins, urns, and utensils, abundantly sufficient to manifest they once resided in this isle.

WHEN the Romans entirely abandoned our country, the natives seem to have resumed that kind of government, under which they had lived before they came hither. At least it is certain, that many Princes were acknowledged at one and the same time, in different parts of the island. Amongst these, *Cafwallon* law-hir fixed his regal seat in *Mona*, though the family name was not taken from him, but from his son, who was called *Malgwyn Gwynedd*, and succeeded in the beginning of the sixth century; from whom, in a direct line, sprung *Cadwallader*, the last king of the Britons (*b*). This monarch finding himself, after many struggles, at last become unable to resist the superior arms of the Saxons, retired to *Bretagne*, or *Brittany*, in France. His descendants, however, continued to rule in Wales, and *Rodri Vaur*, that is, *Roderic* the great, who wore the princely diadem about the middle of the ninth century, and was contemporary with King *Alfred*, made that division of power which subsisted as long as the Britons continued free (*c*). According to his institution, the preheminance was given to the Prince of North Wales, whose capital he established at *Aberffraw*, in this island; and the other two Princes, of South Wales and *Powis*, paid the same tribute to him that he did to the King of London; for so the Britons

(*y*) Tacit. in vit. Agricolaë. Paulinus Suetonius, according to the most accurate computation, made his expedition A. D. 61. and the reduction of *Mona*, by Julius Agricola, so exactly and so elegantly recorded by Tacitus, in A. D. 76. —(*z*) See this point very fully, learnedly, and satisfactorily discussed, by the very ingenious and reverend Mr. Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*.—(*a*) *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. Strabon's *Geograph.* lib. 4. p. 197. *Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 31. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xvi. cap. 44. *Pompon. Melæ de Situ Orbis*, lib. iii. cap. 2.—(*b*) *Nennii Historia Brit.* cap. lxxvi. in Sir Robert Cotton's *M. S.* but plainly not of Nennius's composition; however, it agrees with all the British chronicles, and very probably might be added to the copy of Nennius's history, kept by the monks at *Bangor*, by way of appendix.—(*c*) *Girald. Cambrenf. Cambriæ Descript.* cap. ii. *The British History*, by Caradoc of *Lancarvan*, published by Dr. Powell, p. 28. *Rowland's Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 173.

stiled the chief monarch of the Saxons. This division we find recognized and confirmed by the laws of Howel Dha, that is, Howel the good (*d*). Under these Princes, without all doubt, this island was in its most flourishing condition; and may, with great probability, be affirmed to have had, at the least, thrice as many inhabitants as it has in it at present (*e*). One cannot well suppose, that this could have happened without the assistance of commerce; which will appear still the more likely, when we are told, that Aberffraw, though now an inconsiderable village, was then a distinguished port, as it is still an improveable maritime place (*f*). As there are very few remains of the British history, within, or indeed long after this period, it is no great wonder that we are destitute, even in a point of such importance, of more positive proofs. There is, however, one fact, that has happily escaped oblivion, which adds a degree of certainty to our supposition; which is, that Madoc ap Owen, son to the famous Owen Gwenneth, Prince of North Wales, finding the country in confusion, and his brother embarked in a civil war, put to sea with a small squadron, on board of which were such as were inclined to follow his fortunes; and steering due west, having Ireland to the north, arrived in an unknown country; from whence he afterwards returned, and made so favourable a report, that he carried away with him a numerous colony, of whom never any more was heard (*g*). What number of ships composed his first squadron we are ignorant, but the last consisted of ten sail; and he is presumed to have discovered America, three hundred years before Columbus. As to the truth of which assertion, though I do not deny it, yet I shall not stay to enquire, because it concerns not my purpose; since all for which I produce the fact, of his quitting this country, is to prove, that, in these days, the country was well inhabited, had some share of trade, and a maritime force (*h*).

(*d*) These three principalities were Venedotia, North Wales, the capital of which was Aberffraw; Demetia, South Wales, the chief city, Dinewawr; and Powisia, Powis Land, the metropolis, Mathraual.—(*e*) In Beda's time, in the eighth century, there were nine hundred and sixty households; when Giraldus was here, in the twelfth, there were three hundred and forty-three towns, some copies read three hundred and sixty-three; in Leland's days, there were about one hundred churches; and, at present, there are about twenty-five, to which such chapels as remain unruined are annexed.—(*f*) There was as we have before observed, a great correspondence, and, no doubt, trade, amongst the Britons scattered in Wales, Man, Cumberland, Cornwall, and Bretagne; the names of many places shew they were formerly harbours, though long disused; and there are stone wares for fisheries, so strong, neat, and well contrived, that many ascribe them to the Romans.—(*g*) The first voyage of Prince Madoc, was A. D. 1170; the accounts of it by the British bards, Cynric ap Grono, Gytten Owen, and Sir Meredith ap Reese, all of them prior to Columbus, and their authentic M.S. still preserved in Wales, put the fact out of doubt, of his having quitted his own country to seek a quiet retreat, and that he not only carried ships and men, but was allowed, on his return, to carry more. Does not this manifest a redundancy of people?—(*h*) Powell's History of Wales, p. 27, 28, 29. Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 1. Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, p. 394, 395, 396.

As to the modern names of Angles-*ea*, or Anglesey, that is, the English island, it is not easily to be traced. Beda, speaking of this, and of Man, calls them the Menavian islands, represents this, which he calls the most southern, as by much the largest, most fertile, and best inhabited; and assures us they both paid tribute to Edwin, king of Northumberland (*i*). In the Saxon Chronicle we find Anglesey; but then it relates to a transaction after the Norman conquest (*k*). That the Saxons might covet and much affect so fine a country, and desire to possess this, with so many other rich provinces, of which they had despoiled the Britons, we may easily conceive. But that from this appellation, it should be regarded as ever being in their hands, as a possession, history affords us no warrant to affirm. The most probable account of the matter is, that the Angles, in their very first attempts on Britain, might land upon, and make some impression here, which induced them, by way of claim, to call it their island. But Caswallon, discerning how commodious it was for his purpose, and believing the Britons could not chuse a better retreat than the isle in which the Druids sought shelter, began to provide for its security; and left his posterity the means, as well as gave them the advice, to defend it against Norwegians, Irish, Normans, and all invaders, which, after his example, they gallantly performed, and raised various monuments (some of which still remain) of their victories (*l*). Hence, though known to its natives only by the appellation of Môn, the name of Anglesey was common amongst the Saxons, and from them passed to the Normans, and so to us (*m*). But let us now return to the thread of our historical narrative, into which we have entered, that, from the story of its inhabitants, the different conditions this country hath been in may the more clearly appear.

As the renown of the Princes of North Wales began, so it ended in this isle. For here, under Llewelyn ap Gruffyth (the last of these princes) the army of king Edward the First, which passed the straits of Menai over a bridge of boats, in the very same place where Julius Agricola had entered the island, was defeated with great loss (*n*). But, notwithstanding this promising victory, very soon after, prince Llewelyn and his

(*i*) *Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Gentis Anglorum*, lib. ii. cap. 7. *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales*, lib. i. p. 2. *Giraldi Cambrensis. Itiner. Cambriæ*, lib. ii. cap. 7.—(*k*) *Chronicon Saxonicum*, p. 206, 33. *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales*, lib. ix. p. 71. *Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia*, ap. x. Script. p. 223.—(*l*) *Lambrde's Historical and Topographical Dictionary*, p. 5, 6, 7. *Sir John Pryfe's Description of Wales*, p. 6, 7, 8. *Drayton's Polyolbion*, Song ix.—(*m*) See the learned Selden's notes upon Michael Drayton's poem, before cited; in which there is a succinct chronological view of the British princes ruling in Wales.—(*n*) *Nicholai Trivetii Annales*, tom. i. p. 257, 258. *Thom. Walsingham Hist. Angl.* p. 50. *Chron. de Dunstaple*, tom. ii. p. 273. H. Lloyd assures us, that this bridge was at Moel y Donn.

brother David were both slain (*o*). This monarch the better to maintain his conquest, built and fortified the town of Beaumaris, in this island; erecting also the strong castle of Carnarvon, on the opposite side; and, to conciliate the minds of his new subjects, declared his son Edward, born in the place last-mentioned, Prince of Wales (*p*). But as the king, for his farther security, made large grants of land to many of the English nobility, new feuds ensued, in which multitudes of the Welch perished (*q*). When, by degrees, they became in some measure reconciled to the English dominion, their loyalty proved at least as fatal as their former spirit of discontent; for having shewn a strong attachment to Richard the Second, and his heirs (*r*), this exposed them to the resentment of the House of Lancaster, who, through the course of three reigns, persecuted them with unrelenting severity; and, amongst many other rigorous laws, prohibited the breeding their children to learning, or binding them apprentices to trades: whence it is easy to apprehend how these countries came to be depopulated, their inhabitants less civilized, and even their best improved lands rendered desolate (*s*).

BUT upon the accession of Henry the Seventh, who by the father's side was of British blood, and who chiefly by the courage of these his countrymen was raised to the throne, they met with better usage. Henry the Eighth divided Wales into counties, and gave that denomination to Anglesey, allowing it to send two members to parliament, one as a knight of the shire, and the other as burghers for Beaumaris (*t*). In succeeding reigns, as the union between that principality and this kingdom grew more compleat, circuits established for the due distribution of justice, and all distinction between Welch and English taken away, they gradually recovered from that low and distressed condition, into which the false policy of the princes of the House of Lancaster, in resentment of their family quarrel, equally to the disgrace and detriment of the nation, had reduced them (*u*). From this historical deduction of the state of this island, and its inhabitants in former times (which we hope has not been either useless or unpleasant) we

(*o*) Walteri Hemingford Historia Edwardi primi, tom. i. p. 11, 12, 13. Henricus de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. iii. cap. 1. Annal. Waverl. p. 235.—(*p*) Chronicon Thomæ Wyker, p. 127. Peter Langtoff's Chronicle, p. 315. However, this monarch himself was, A. D. 1277, by his father Henry III. declared prince of Wales.—(*q*) Walteri Hemingford Hist. Edwardi I. tom. i. p. 55. Henricus de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. iii. cap. 3. Dr. Powell's Addition to the British History, p. 382, 383.—(*r*) Vita Ricardi II. a quodam Monacho de Evesham, p. 155. Wilhelmi Wyncetteri Annales Rerum Anglicarum, p. 445. 451. Fabian's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 345.—(*s*) Stat. 2 Hen. IV. cap. 20. 4. Henr. IV. cap. 29, 30, 31. 1. Henr. V. cap. 6. Cotton's records, p. 423, 428. 631. Dr. Powell's History of Wales, p. 387.—(*t*) Henry the Seventh pacified things in Wales by a charter; but his son very wisely incorporated Wales with England, and encouraged civility and industry.—(*u*) Stat. 27 Henr. VIII. cap. 5. 1 Eliz. cap. 2. § 12. 5 Eliz. § 47, 48. 23 Eliz. cap. 3. and some of the former severe statutes were not repealed till the reign of King James.
will

will proceed to the description of the county itself, and of the many natural advantages with which it is endowed.

ANGLESEY is surrounded on every side by the Irish Sea, except on the south, where it is divided from the continent by what is sometimes called the Strait, and sometimes the river Menai, Aqua Menæ, Men au, in British, the Narrow Water; stretching from east to west the whole breadth of the island, in some places deep, in others shallow, and even fordable; whence, though with very little foundation, it has been doubted whether this was always an island (*w*). The form of the country is very irregular, measuring in length, from south-east to north-west, twenty-four, in breadth about eighteen, and in circumference between sixty and seventy English miles (*x*). The climate is mild and temperate, though somewhat incommoded by mists rising from the sea in autumn, when agues are, in that season, pretty frequent (*y*). The soil is much better than it promises to the eye; for notwithstanding it is marshy in some places, and in many more stony, yet it is wonderfully fertile, maintaining in this respect, the character it anciently obtained, of being the granary of Wales (*z*). It is also very finely diversified with hills and valleys, though the face of the country in general is more level than most of the neighbouring counties; and the pasture upon the hills is esteemed as excellent as the grain produced in the arable grounds. In consequence of its being sprinkled with hills, it is not only more wholesome and pleasant, but also infinitely better watered than it otherwise would have been; having, besides brooks and lesser streams, no fewer than twelve rivulets, amongst which are Kevenney, Alau and Frau, that may with more propriety, perhaps, be stiled rivers; which some or other of them run into the sea on each side of the isle, affording thereby to all parts of the country a due proportion of moisture (*a*). The shore also is so happily indented, that there are every where bays and creeks, some that are, some that have been, and all of them might be, rendered very beneficial to the inhabitants (*b*). The situation of the whole, in respect to other countries, is likewise admirable; being equally convenient and well-disposed for driving a coast trade with the north west part of England, the south of Scotland, the east side of Ireland, the

(*w*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 540. Sir John Pryses's Description of Wales, p. 6. Rowland's Mona Antiqua Restaurata, chap. xii. p. 191.—(*x*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 125. Roberts's Merchants Map of Commerce, chap. cclxvii. p. 119. edit. 1638. Fuller's Worthies in Wales, p. 18.—(*y*) This is the common calamity of countries thinly peopled, and consequently indifferently cultivated, and would cease if the isle was thoroughly improved.—(*z*) Girald. Cambrensis, Itin. Cambriae, lib. ii. cap. 7. Richardson's State of Europe, book iii. p. 27. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 150.—(*a*) Lelandi Collectanea, tom. iii. p. 96, 97, 98. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 25. Morris's Observations on the Coasts and Ports of Wales.—(*b*) Harrison's Description of Britain, book i. chap. 10. p. 36. shews it was anciently a place of great trade; and the names of ports and havens remain, though they are lost.

Isle of Man, all the coasts of North and South Wales, and very commodious for a commerce with Spain and Italy; as well as with our colonies in North America, and in the West Indies (*c*); to which when we add, that it is little inferior in size to Martinico, larger than Guadaloupe, near twice as big as Barbadoes, we may from thence form a general idea of the island (*d*); though, for the sake of comprehending it better, we shall enter into some further particulars.

THE products of this isle are various in name, and many of them valuable in their nature. In the bowels of the earth are found ochres for painters use, fine sand for making glass, and diversity of clays fit for potters, white and yellow fullers earth, asbestos, of which there were once hopes, allom and copperas might be made, but either these were taken up on slight grounds, or otherwise too hastily abandoned (*e*); excellent mill-stones of several sorts, and several colours, for which the country has been always noted (*f*): Amongst these they frequently meet with very massy blocks of marble, as beautiful, as finely variegated, and as fit for building or for ornaments, as any we import from more distant places (*g*). Many and those too promising veins of coal, of almost every sort hitherto wrought, have been likewise discovered in different parts of the island. Besides these subterraneous treasures, Anglesea yields lead, copper, and perhaps, other and richer metals (*h*). The soil is generally very good, and, where it is otherwise, they have plenty of the best manures, such as seawreck, rich sand, and lime-stone. Besides the mountains, which, as we have said, produce admirable pasture, there are many flat lands near the sea, now overwhelmed with sand, which might be certainly, and with no great expence or difficulty, recovered, and turned into rich meadows (*i*). As it was once famous for its woods, there is no doubt but timber of every species might be raised. There are several spots of ground fit for flax and hemp; and it would be an experiment well worth the trial, whether Barrilia, so necessary in making glass and soap, (and which we purchase at a very dear rate

(*e*) This is a point indisputable, and therefore it would be as great a folly in us to labour the proof of it, as it is in others to neglect so many and so manifest advantages—(*d*) Templeman's New Survey of the Globe, pl. ii. xxviii. xxix. All these islands have but one staple commodity, Anglesey might have many.—(*e*) Camden's Britannia, p. 540. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. clxvi. p. 823. Woodward's History of Fossils, vol. i. p. 77.—(*f*) Harrison's Description of Britain, b. i. ch. 10. p. 36. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 151. Brome's Travels through England, Scotland, and Wales, p. 240.—(*g*) This is not peculiar to the isle of which we are speaking; very fine marble is found in different parts of the British Dominions, and it is a very important point to bring it into use.—(*h*) Morris's Observations on the Coasts and Ports of Wales, p. 3, 4, 5. from his own personal disquisitions made in the island.—(*i*) These disadvantageous encroachments were made, when the country was exhausted of inhabitants; and the restoring them is naturally to be hoped, in milder and better times.

abroad) might not be raised here (*k*). The sea is no less bountiful than the land, for besides immense quantities of ore or wreck, of which kelp is made, and very rich sand for manure, it furnishes all sorts of fish; herring, cod, whiting, turbot, soal, flounders, crabs, lobsters, oysters of different kinds, and some that, for pickling, are thought preferable to almost any that are found elsewhere (*l*). In respect to manufactures, there is not much cause to boast, though there are a few, both linen and woollen; which, however, are instances rather of private industry, than productive of public profit. But if we consider, that there is in this isle the conveniency of rivers, in respect to all mechanical purposes; that there is plenty of fullers earth; and that there is still a greater plenty of coals; we may clearly discern, that not only those that have been mentioned may be carried to a great height, but many others introduced, especially if we advert to another circumstance, of more extensive advantage, the numerous harbours, and some of them likewise of considerable size and very good, that already are, or might be easily procured, on every side of Anglesey (*m*). But before we proceed to speak particularly to these, it will not be amiss to give a few instances in respect to the progressive decline, and succeeding revival, of cultivation and trade in this isle; for though the instances we have to produce are but few, yet they are, in their nature, such as will afford a judicious reader some useful hints upon the subject.

IN A. D. 1544, the thirty-sixth year of Henry the Eighth, there was a loan to that prince, in which Anglesey paid one hundred ninety-five pounds; when the county of Rutland, which is about half the size, paid but one hundred and thirty-six pounds (*n*). A. D. 1584, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when there were ten thousand trained men raised in the kingdom, Anglesey furnished fifty and Rutland forty; and ten years before, upon an exact muster, the able men in this island were found to be three hundred and seventy (*o*). To this let me add, that by a strict inquisition taken in the

(*k*) It grows plentifully on the sea coasts of Valentia and Murcia, is the ingredient that gives a value to Spanish soaps, and would be a most lucrative acquisition, if it could be cultivated either here, or in any part of the British dominions.—(*l*) What was done in former days we cannot with certainty say; but, from the strong and costly stone wears we have before mentioned, one would be led to think, the people here did not always merit Leland's reproach (faithfully copied by Harrison) "There is good commodity for fishing about all Tŷr Môn; but there lacketh cunning and diligence." *Collectan.* tom. iii. p. 98. What can be said now, when the value of every kind of industry is so well known?—(*m*) We have clearly shewn, that this island has vast abundance of raw materials, all the natural means and instruments for converting them into manufactures, and it will hereafter appear it has numerous ports on every side, to facilitate the carrying them to foreign markets; so that no country can be better adapted for commerce than this.—(*n*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. in the Appendix, No. cix. p. 333. The people of Anglesey to this time had still some remains of trade and commerce.—(*o*) Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. b. ii. p. 23, 24. According to this account, the number of inhabitants was about half what it is now. See also Sir John Doderidge's *Historical Account of the Principality of Wales*, p. 12. 74.

forty-fourth year of the same reign, A. D. 1602, it appeared, that the revenue drawn from Anglesey amounted but to four hundred twenty-five pounds a year; whereas it was found, by a like inquisition, in the fiftieth year of Edward III. A. D. 1376, to produce annually eight hundred thirty-two pounds. In the reign of King Charles the First, when writs were issued, for the sums to be respectively levied for ship-money, through the counties of England and Wales, Anglesey paid four hundred sixty-two pounds, when Rutland paid eight hundred (*p*). A little after this, A. D. 1638, there were exported yearly from this island, about three thousand head of cattle and a proportionable quantity of butter, cheese, corn, and other provisions (*q*). According to the latest account that we have, the exportation of black cattle is risen to about fifteen thousand: besides which they commonly spare five thousand hogs, and a great number of sheep, to the continent (reserving still in the isle a stock of thirty thousand head of cattle) four thousand quarters of corn, with considerable quantities of honey, wax, tallow, hides, and some woollen and linen cloth (*r*). This may appear to be, and certainly is, a great improvement, in the space of a century. But, notwithstanding that, we can still render it more than barely probable, that all things taken together, this country was in a far better state under its ancient princes: For when, in the beginning of the reign of Edward the First, A. D. 1227, Prince Llewellyn was forced to conclude a treaty with him, he engaged to pay fifty thousand pounds to obtain the king's favour, and an annual tribute of one thousand marks for the island of Anglesey; which is more than equal in value to the land-tax of that country at present, when it pays four shillings in the pound. Besides all this (because the king's army had reduced best part of the isle before he submitted) he undertook to pay down five thousand marks on his being admitted into quiet possession (*s*). If, therefore, we consider, that this was after undergoing the

(*p*) Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. ii. p. 340. 342. At this time things were at the lowest; and, their commerce being gone, the people of Anglesey relied solely on agriculture, grazing, and the coast trade.—(*q*) The Merchants Map of Commerce, by Lewis Roberts, London, 1638, fol. chap. cclxii. p. 220. This gentleman was a native of Anglesey, and a merchant of London. I cite the original edition, in order to fix the time when this computation was made. It is very remarkable, that our author thought this a great mark of its fertility; so that improvements were then new, and mentions also, as a thing strange, that there were once three hundred and sixty towns in this island.—(*r*) Observations on the Sea Coasts and Harbours of Wales, p. 6. This was written by Mr. Lewis Morris, who is a native of Anglesey also, and had made great collections towards a Natural History of this country, which it is much to be regretted was not completed and made public. His computations are for 1747, and shew a mighty augmentation in the value of property; which, however, by the introduction of commerce, would multiply more, and in far less time.—(*s*) Chron. Petriburgenfes, per Robertum Boston, A. D. 1277. Thomæ Otterbourne Chron. Regum Angliæ, p. 81. Annales Waverleicenfis, p. 232. Math. Westmonst. p. 365. Thomæ Wallinghami, Hist. Angliæ, p. 47.

charge and inconveniences of a long scene of bloodshed and confusion; if we reflect, that the prince was to have his revenue besides, and advert also to the value of money, compared with the necessities and conveniences of life in those days; we must conclude, that the subjects, from whom all this was to be taken, were numerous, and in tolerable circumstances (*t*). Much, therefore, may still be done.

BEAUMARIS, near the south-east extremity of the island, and in the mouth of the sound, is the chief place in Anglesey. It had formerly a strong castle, is still a fair well-built town, in which the county gaol is kept, the assizes and quarter sessions held, and all business of the like kind transacted. The borough is a corporation, under the government of a Mayor, two Bailiffs, Recorder, and Common-Council. It has also a good harbour, and is capable of a considerable trade, has some share of foreign commerce, whence it is in this light esteemed a member of the port of Chester, and has two creeks under its jurisdiction, which will be hereafter mentioned (*u*). The bay of Red Wharf lies to the north of Beaumaris; as things now stand, and have too long stood, this inlet is much exposed to north-west winds; but by building a pier at Porthllongdy, where nature has made a sufficient provision of stones, might, at a very small expence, be converted into a safe and commodious haven (*w*). Two leagues farther to the north lies Dulas Bay, at the mouth of a river of the same name, narrow at the entrance, and embarrassed with great stones, which being once taken up, and properly placed, would not only entirely remove that impediment, but also contribute to make the stream deeper; and as there are lead mines near, the village of Dulas, by this method, might be rendered a place of some importance (*x*). Proceeding still north, and having doubled what in the charts is called St. Hillary's, properly St. Elian's point, we come to Amlwch, or Amlogh;

(*t*) According to Mr. Folkes's accurate tables, one thousand marks make, of our present money, one thousand nine hundred thirty-seven pounds nine shillings and eight pence. The land-tax of Anglesey, at four shillings in the pound, comes to no more than one thousand six hundred and thirty-three pounds nine shillings and eleven pence. By the same tables, five thousand marks come to nine thousand six hundred eighty-seven pounds eight shillings and five pence; and fifty thousand marks, to one hundred forty-five thousand three hundred and twelve pounds nine shillings; and the whole sum paid to King Edward by Prince Llewellyn, to one hundred fifty-six thousand nine hundred thirty-seven Pounds seven shillings, of our present money — (*u*) Lambard's Topographical Dictionary, p. 6. Curson's Compendium of the laws, &c. of England, p. 437. Crouch's Complete View of the British Customs, p. 383. — (*w*) Leland's Collectanea, tom. iii. p. 97. which appear interlined by one skilled in the British language; who takes notice, this was of old called Traeth Eoch, i. e. the Red Bank, and intimates it was an harbour for ships. — (*x*) Morris's Observations on the Sea Coasts and Harbours of Wales, p. 3. It is not expected, or indeed to be hoped, that all or many of these improvements should be undertaken at once; but if an experiment was made, for example, here, where all that is proposed might be done for three hundred pounds, the working the lead mines would soon raise the village to a town, and excite thereby an emulation in other places.

which, to say the truth, is a very inconvenient place, but, with a very moderate charge, its defects might be, in a great measure, lessened. Even in its present condition it is, in virtue of its situation, a creek to Beaumaris, and the Liverpool boats lie commonly a-float, ready to meet any vessels in the Offing (y). All these are on the east side of the island, and the improvements proposed could, as competent judges assert, be fully effected for less than a thousand pounds. Kemlyn, or Crooked Pool Bay, on the north side of the isle, might, with a small charge, be made not only a safe port, but a serviceable little dock could be here also constructed; nature having done so much, that art could very quickly and easily do the rest (z). Holyhead is the station of the packet-boats which pass between England and Ireland: these sail for Dublin every Monday, Wednesday and Friday; and return, Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays (a). Nature has been likewise very indulgent here, and, for barks and other small craft, has made a very good port. But for laying out the sum of about five thousand pounds, it could certainly be rendered an exceeding good harbour, even for ships of considerable burthen, and become, by that means, of general use to trade: this is the other creek belonging to Beaumaris (b). Aberffraw was anciently a very good port, and by building a pier of about thirty or forty yards in length, would be made so again; and as there are quarries of white marble in the neighbourhood, and the country all round it yields plenty of provisions, the sums requisite for this beneficial purpose would be very trivial, and would be soon reimbursed (c). Maldraeth, at the mouth of the river Keveney, on the west side of the island, between Aberffraw and the ferry, might be very greatly improved. If a good pier was to be constructed in Dinas-Lwyd, there would be very safe, commodious anchoring anywhere within, and this even for large vessels; and a small pier under Bodorgan, for vessels in the coal trade, would undoubtedly, in a little time, make this a place of consequence, and the whole expence rather fall under than exceed a thou-

(y) Crouch's Complete View of British Customs, p. 383. In the interpolation of Leland we are told, this, in the British language, is, the port of hogs; whence we plainly see the exportation of swine, or swines flesh, is not a new, but an old trade revived.—(z) Morris's Observations, so frequently quoted, and which have furnished me with the means of setting this matter in so full a light.—(a) This island was called by the Britons, Innis Lenach, i. e. the island of clergy; for there was a great college in it; and the town upon it, Caer-Kybi, was so named in honour of a Bishop of Anglesey, in the fourth or fifth century, styled afterwards St. Kybi; and the causeway connecting this isle to that of Anglesey, Pont-trybwyl, has been by some thought a Roman work.—(b) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 17. Crouch's Complete View of the British Customs, p. 383. Morris's Observations on the Sea Coasts and Harbours of Wales, p. 4.—(c) Though this Place be now sunk to a village, yet it still retains that situation which recommended it to the Princes of North-Wales, viz. a beautiful lake (Llin Coran) at a small distance, a fine rivulet running by it, and the sea at two miles distance, with what is, or easily might be made a good port.

land pounds (*d*): or the whole may be done by contracting the entrance of the estuary of Maldreath, from the east shore at Landdwyn, towards Dinas-Lwyd, in consequence of which, most of the strand being taken in by degrees, and converted into meadows, an excellent harbour would be formed of course (*e*). In respect to the sound of Menai, or the channel between the isle and the continent, one may with truth affirm, that, in its full extent, it is a kind of haven, or more properly a chain of havens, for small vessels; but by the help of skill, labour and money, it might (as we have elsewhere shewn) be rendered a safe passage, of infinite utility to the navigation in general of the west coast of Britain (*f*).

AFTER this succinct account of the ports, bays, and inlets, it will be proper to mention, in the same order we have observed in speaking of them, the several islands that lie upon the coasts of Anglesey, which hereafter may become, what heretofore they most certainly were, in many respects beneficial to their mother isle (*g*). The first of these is Innis Seriol, as it was anciently called; in which there was a college of ecclesiastics, from whence it receives its present name of Priestholm; and the spire of the old church is, even now, a day-mark for entering the harbour of Beaumaris (*h*). There was formerly a good town here, and certainly it is a most convenient situation for a light-house, which would not be very expensive, and would be as serviceable to the navigation on that side, as the Skerry Isles are on the other; which, though at first erected at the cost of private persons, was soon adopted upon their application to parliament, and is now supported by the public (*i*). This island of Priestholm might be also made very useful for the herring fishery. Innis Ligod is the next, called, in English, the Mouse. It is, in truth, little better than a rock, which, notwithstanding, would prove an excellent place for curing and drying fish (*k*). Innis Moyl Roniad, or the Isle of Porpoises, supposed to be that anciently called

(*d*) Morris's Observations on the Sea Coasts and Harbours of Wales, p. 5.

(*e*) In this case, the sea might be made to pay largely for its own exclusion; and with respect to certainty, what has been already gained at the mouth of the Dee, in improving the port of Chester, is a sufficient evidence of what, under like circumstances may be elsewhere done.—(*f*) Political Survey of Great-Britain, vol. i. p. 46.

(*g*) The visible marks that still remain of these islands being anciently settled, manifestly prove (1) that the larger island was extremely populous; (2) that the people, in those days, had a spirit of industry and improvement; (3) that these islets may be certainly turned to some use.—*h*) Harrison's Survey of Britain, b. i. cap. x. p. 36. Atl's Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 16. Morris's Observations, p. 2.

(*i*) Stat. 3 Geo. II. cap. xxxvi. §. i. by which certain duties are laid upon the shipping that enjoy the benefit of this lighthouse, and given to the proprietors.

(*k*) There are some small conveniencies requisite to render such a rocky isle fit for this use; and as the fishermen are little able, and those who have the property are as little inclined, to make them, as seeing no probability of profit, they are never made at all. But this does not impeach the truth of the suggestion, that proper conveniencies for curing and drying fish, would make the barest and bleakest rocks that can be conceived, turn both to private and public account.

Innis Ader, or the Isle of Birds, lies to the north of Anglesey, is famous for the most considerable quarry of Asbestos (*l*), and seems preferable to any other for the burning the Alga Marina into kelp, as it lies some miles from the main, and consequently the smoke that manufacture occasions (which is certainly very unpleasant, and perhaps may be likewise unwholesome) would be farther removed (*m*). To this, if the making train oil of different sorts of coarse fish, common enough in these seas, could be joined, it would be an additional advantage, and that no small one (*n*). Innis Kybi, or St. Kybi's Island, at the entrance of the harbour of Holyhead, had formerly a salt-work upon it, and an act of parliament was obtained in its favour, though it did not succeed notwithstanding (*o*); but which, upon bestowing proper encouragement, might be more fortunately revived, and made of great service to the fisheries (*p*).

IN respect to the improvement of which this country is capable, when we reflect that it possesses all the necessaries, and even all the conveniences of life, in the greatest abundance; and when we remember, that fisheries, mines, and manufactures, are equally in the power of its inhabitants, what is there we can possibly conceive wanting to make it rich and populous, but attention and application? If gentlemen would consult their real interest in the most sensible manner, that is, by promoting the public welfare, they would certainly very soon change here the whole face of affairs. The care, the cost, and the contrivance requisite to the constructing a good house, and laying out commodious offices and elegant gardens, (things proper and laudable in themselves) a little, and but a little further extended, would compass points that are of much greater importance, and more worthy of praise, because more useful to society, and of consequence of much greater benefit to individuals (*q*). These therefore, certainly, on a rational plan, demand gentlemen's primary and principal

(*l*) Woodward's Natural History of Fossils, vol. ii. p. 103. It may deserve some consideration, whether the incombustible paper which has been actually made from this substance, might not be applied to some useful purposes?—(*m*) This, though profitable, cannot be indulged without restriction, in any well peopled or well cultivated country, and for this reason is forbid, by law, in Thanet; but being situated in so remote an isle as this, and proper places provided, sea ware may be brought from any distance, and burned there.—(*n*) The people at least, if not the fire employed in making kelp, may also attend the boiling of oil, and though either might prove but a slender livelihood, yet both together might prove a comfortable subsistence. Besides, the coppers and other utensils being ready, those to whom they belonged would purchase such fish as soon as caught, and the certainty of a market would encourage their being caught.—(*o*) Stat. 6 Ann. cap. 12. §. 2.—(*p*) The boiling sea water to salt would give an opening to the breaking up their coals, and these once wrought, might quickly be sent cheap to the Irish and other markets.—(*q*) Records support tradition, and remains of churches, towns, and little ports, confirm the testimony of both, in representing this island as once fully inhabited; as the ports were rendered dangerous from their being neglected, commerce decayed, upon this

pal regard, though domestic accommodations should be by no means neglected. If the younger brothers of good families were bred merchants at Beaumaris, that emporium and only port in this county would become far more considerable than it is by its commerce (*r*). Newborough, now sunk from a great town almost into a village, might be restored, improved, and embellished, so as to be a very pleasant and commodious winter residence for the gentry; which must quickly produce those accommodations that would render it no unwelcome or unentertaining receptacle for strangers, in their passage to and from Ireland (*s*): And if the town of Holyhead was enlarged, and better built, with an addition of proper warehouses, it would be a very convenient place for Irish traders to import their goods that pay English duty, as lying within a few hours sail of their own coasts; so that the Dublin merchants might have the conveniency of the packet-boats, to go over and see their goods landed (*t*). There is nothing dark or difficult in any of these proposals; and as coals, salt, lime, kelp, glass, lead, and copper, are valuable articles; and as the woollen, leather, and linen manufactures would be sure to be encouraged and promoted from an increase of people; the profits of all these, joined to what already arise from agriculture and grazing, which these would rather augment than diminish, would quickly elevate this island into what nature designed it, one of the fairest, finest, and most flourishing countries in the world (*u*).

this towns declined, the poor, when there were no longer rich persons, by and upon whom they could live, quitted the country, which growing thin of people, ceased to be well or generally cultivated; which progress of ruin points out the steps that are to be regularly taken, to raise upwards of three hundred towns and hamlets again, and those better than the old.—(*r*) Ten considerable merchants, exporting annually the commodities and manufactures of the island, to the most distant foreign markets, would do more in half a century to come, than has been done in three centuries past; and posterity would scarce believe, that it was ever in so low a state as we must be convinced it was at that period of time. (*s*) The improvement of Newborough would turn entirely to the advantage of the land-owners, to whom the rents of the new buildings would belong. The amusements and diversions set on foot here, if they kept people from going out of the isle, instead of expence, (as it must be if spent elsewhere) would, from this change of circumstance, be so much clear gain. The increased consumption arising from persons retained at home, and passengers detained on the road, would enrich the country round it.—(*t*) The situation, size, and figure of the Island of Holy-head seem to be perfectly adapted to answer this purpose; and as this construction of public magazines would be highly advantageous to Ireland and Anglesey, without being (if under proper regulations) in the least detrimental to the public revenue, but very serviceable to the commerce of Great Britain, one may reasonably hope to see it one day effected. The prosperity of these three towns would have speedy and sensible effects on the whole island. (*u*) The judicious reader will conclude this no random assertion, if he reflects, that native commodities, valuable in their kind and bulky in their nature, are the prime supports of navigation; that wind and water for machines, fuel, and the gross materials at a cheap rate, are the funds for manufacture; and that ports on every side are all that can be desired for promoting commerce.

WE

WE have treated copiously and circumstantially of the three islands mentioned in this section, that we might be more concise, without becoming obscure, in speaking of those that are to follow. We have shewn, that where islands are equally beautiful and fertile, the private and the public interest may be easily united, and the welfare of their particular inhabitants, and of society in general, promoted at the same time, and by the same means (*w*). We have farther shewn, that where these are in a great degree wanting, the importance of situation may, in some measure, supply those seeming capital defects (*x*). Finally, we have endeavoured to make it evident, that the steady attention of a wise government may call forth many and great advantages, where, on a superficial view, they would be very little expected; and that, on the other hand, countries abounding with all the blessings of nature, rich, fertile, and pleasant, may be thinly inhabited, and of consequence contribute little to the public stock, by being long overlooked, and scarce any notice taken of what, by proper management, they might be made to produce (*y*).

FOR, to conclude this section as we ought,—As it is the interest, as well as the duty of individuals, to consult the welfare of the community, even at the expence of their own; since selfish views belong only to savages, and not to members of society; so it becomes those who are entrusted with the care of the public, and from thence are sometimes styled the public, to consider, in that station, every man's benefit but their own (*z*). They ought to render themselves well acquainted with the deficiencies and redundancies of every part of the country they govern; to meditate seriously on the means of procuring general plenty, by an universal circulation; in order to this, they must listen willingly to every request that is made, and comply with it readily, so far as it is reasonable; their own unceasing vigilance, unwearied application, and unsuspected disinterestedness, ought to be a pattern to the people, and by being a pattern, excite them to a spirited diligence, equally constant in its exertion, and well directed as to the object; which would effectually produce that opulence,

(*w*) Compare the past and present state of the islands of the Archipelago, and remember, that their soil, climate, ports, &c. are nearly the same; so that attention and neglect create the difference.—(*x*) Ormuz, we have shewn, triumphed by this only circumstances over countries in the neighbourhood bountifully endowed by nature; and Curaçoa is by the Dutch rendered a Canaan, by industry, tho' in itself ill situated and sterile.—(*y*) See Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 39. The island called the English Forest, Mauritius, Isle of France, examined, abandoned, settled, slighted, resettled, quitted, established, on the point of being relinquished again, improved into a fine fertile country, and its inhabitants rendered a flourishing colony, by the sagacity of one man, in the space of a very few years.—(*z*) The Persian MAGI held, that the best human system of government was that which most resembled the divine: In this sense, love thy neighbour as thyself, is as much a political maxim, as it is a religious and moral principle.

whence those well informed and well meaning ministers may, in that proportion the state of the nation requires, extract an ample revenue, the vital principle of political power. For to hope this from any other means, is as absurd as it is vain : It is, in truth, to expect a flowing vintage from a field of thorns, or a luxurious harvest to spring up in a desert. Preposterous both ! yet not in the expectation simply ; but expecting without using the proper means : Since by suitable attention, and skilful cultivation, both might be procured.

SECTION I.

The islands that were anciently dependant on Normandy.

A succinct history of these isles. Detail of the several attempts made upon them by the French. Situation and extent of Guernsey ; the nature of its climate, soil, and produce ; division, havens, town of St. Peter, and Cornet Castle : the customs, manners, and occupations of the people. Account of Alderney, town, harbour, and other circumstances. A view of Sark, or Serk ; Grant to Hellier de Carteret ; and state of that isle at present. Description of Jersey ; size, form, product, parishes, and force ; towns, ports, manufactures, commerce, number and employment of its inhabitants. The government, civil and military, and assembly of estates in Guernsey and Jersey. Laws, privileges, and peculiarities, in respect to tenures and rent. An attempt to assign the causes of their being so full of people. Their importance to the crown of Great Britain acknowledged, in the most authentic manner, by our wisest and greatest monarchs. Motives for treating this subject so amply. Though already so much improved, these islands still capable of many and great improvements.

IN order to render our account of these islands perspicuous, it will be requisite to begin with their history, which however we shall treat as succinctly as possible. As making part of Ancient Gaul, they fell under the dominion of the Romans ; and upon the conquests made by the Franks, they became a portion of what was called West France, or Neustria (*a*). In the opening of the tenth century, Charles the Simple, to save the rest of his dominions from the ravages of the Normans, erected, in favour of their captain, Rollo (who at his baptism took the name of Robert) the Dutchy of Normandy, to which these isles were annexed (*b*). His descendant,

(*a*) Cæs. de Bello Gallico, lib. iii. vii. Cluverii Introd. Geograph, lib. ii. cap. 13. D'Audiffret Histoire et Geographie ancienne et moderne, tom. ii. p. 225, 226. — (*b*) Gulielm. Gemeticensis de Ducibus Normannis, lib. ii. cap. 17. Thom. Walsingham Ypodigm. Neustriæ, p. 417. Fauchet Antiq. Gauloises, tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. 7.

William, having acquired the kingdom of England in the eleventh century, enjoyed it with his dutchy and its dependancies, all which his sons possessed in their turns; and the succeeding kings of England retained them, as dukes of Normandy, till Philip Augustus seized that territory, under pretence that king John had forfeited it (*c*). But notwithstanding he made himself master of the dutchy, and made also two vigorous attempts upon these isles, yet so loyal were the inhabitants to their Prince, and so much attached to the English interest, and so just a sense had king John of their great importance, that, as they did all in their power, so he exerted himself with great spirit in their defence; and having secured them against his potent adversary, annexed them to the dominions of the crown of England (*d*). He likewise settled a royal court in each of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and gave the people those CONSTITUTIONS, which have ever since been very properly stiled the MAGNA CHARTA of these isles (*e*).

It was from this period, that the very great consequence of these small places, to both crowns, came to be discerned in its true light. The French saw, with inexpressible uneasiness, English squadrons continually at their doors; and, on the other hand, the English understood as clearly the advantages they reaped, and the mischiefs from which they were defended, by retaining them; so that though in 1529 king Henry the Third was prevailed upon for a very small sum, to relinquish his claim to the Dutchy of Normandy, yet he would never part with these isles (*f*); which it appears, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, he let to farm for no more than three hundred and fifty marks (*g*). In the reign of Edward the First, the French making a descent here, were gallantly repulsed by the inhabitants (*h*). When Philip de Valois, who was competitor with Edward the Third for the crown of France, had formed a design which has been often formed, and as often defeated, of setting up a French naval power; he made, which is worthy of notice and remembrance, the first essay of his strength by attacking these isles, A. D. 1339,

(*c*) Caguin. de Francor. Gest. lib. v. Chronicon de Burgo. A. D. 1203. Du Tillet Recueil des Traitez entre les Roys de France et d'Angleterre. p. 157. 166.—(*d*) Mat. Paris Hist. Angl. vol. i. p. 239. Daniel, in Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. i. p. 165. Rot. Placit. coram J. de F. Justiciar. Itiner. in Insul. An. 2 Edw. II. where this fact stands upon record.—(*e*) These constitutions are no longer extant; but in a transcript in the reign of his son Henry III. by an inquest then taken; and the curious reader may consult them in Falle's Account of Jersey, in the Appendix, 329.—(*f*) Joinville Histoire de St. Louis, p. 14. Nich. Trivet's Annales, tom. i. p. 209. Du Tillet Recueil des Traitez entre les Roys de France et d'Angleterre, p. 175.—(*g*) Magn. Rot. 26 Hen. III. Oxen. Madox's History of the Exchequer, chap. xxiii. p. 707. In our money this rent amounted to six hundred seventy-eight pounds.—(*h*) Nic. Trivet's Annales, tom. i. p. 284, 285. Reilly Placita Parliamentaria in Appendice, p. 469. where the king grants pensions to the widows and orphans of such islanders as had fallen in the defence of their country, and gratuities to such as had distinguished themselves.

and was so fortunate as to reduce Guernsey, and was very near subduing Jersey also (*i*); in which, however, he was at length disappointed by the steady opposition of the people, who, when they had recovered their own liberties at the expence of their blood, parted with a very large sum of money to rescue their sister isle (*k*).

At the famous treaty of Bretigny, the king took care to have his right to these islands clearly acknowledged (*l*). In the latter part of his reign, however, they were again attacked, and their inhabitants in a manner ruined (*m*): Yet, in the end, the firmness of the people prevailed, and though they had been driven to the last extremity, they, by invincible fortitude and unwearied diligence, constrained the enemy to retire (*n*). Under the reign of Henry the Fourth they suffered extremely (*o*): But Henry the Fifth drawing great advantages from them during his long wars with France, provided for their safety, and caused the principal fortress in the isle of Jersey to be new built; which, from its great strength and excellent situation, received the name, and has been ever since stiled, MOUNT ORGUEIL (*p*). In the time of Henry the Sixth, that castle and the best part of the island, was basely betrayed, through the intrigues of his French queen, into the hands of her countrymen. But Philip Seigneur de St. Ouen, of the noble family of Carteret, defended the rest with invincible resolution, and at length, in the succeeding reign, obliged them to abandon the island (*q*).

HENRY the Seventh, while he bore no higher title than that of Earl of Richmond, passed some time in the island of Jersey; and having by his own enquiries learned that there were some errors and defects in their laws, took care, after he was seated on the throne, to send them a succinct body of royal

(*i*) Chronique de Froissart, vol. i. chap. 36. 38. R. Knyghton apud x. scriptores, col. 2573. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 29. where it appears, that the Commons warmly recommended the care of the navy, and the protection of these isles to the king, in the succeeding year, as points of the utmost importance.—(*k*) We meet with this particular in the MS. Chronicle of Jersey, where the sum is said to be six thousand four hundred marks; which amount to twelve thousand pounds of our money, as it now stands; and is consequently a noble proof both of prudence and public spirit.—(*l*) Rot. de Tractat. Pacis Franc. 34 Edw. III. m. 10. Rymeri Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 229. Contin. Nic. Trivetii, et Adam Murimuth. Annal. vol. ii. p. 113.—(*m*) Chronicon Perforanum, apud Leland. Collectan. tom. i. p. 295. Chronique de Froissart, vol. i. chap. 305, 306. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 407.—(*n*) In our old Chronicle of Pershore Abby, before cited, it is said, that the inhabitants had but one place of strength left; which Froissart informs us was Cornet Castle, to which the governor retired.—(*o*) Thom. Walsingham Hist. Angl. p. 369. Thom. Otterbourne Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 245. Argentre Histoire de Bretagne, liv. 2. chap. 5. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 425. Lobineau Histoire de Bretagne, vol. i. p. 504.—(*p*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 854. Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 320. Falle's Cæsaria, an account of Jersey, chap. i. p. 75, 76, 77.—(*q*) Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet, vol. iii. fol. 956. Chronique MS. de l'Isle de Jersey, chap. v. Histoire Sommaire de Normandie, par l'Abbe de Maffeville, P. II. p. 412.

ordinances; by which the former were amended, and the latter supplied (*r*). Henry the Eighth expressed his kindness in redressing the grievances brought upon them by one of their governors, though he was a creature of Cardinal Wolsey's, by directing all their fortresses in general to be repaired, and causing all the islands to be put in a posture of defence (*s*). In the time of his son the French surprized Sarke, and attempted both Guernsey and Jersey, but were repulsed with such loss, that the people of France were forbid to speak of it at that time, under the severest penalties; and their historians have been as silent about it ever since (*t*). In the succeeding reign Sarke was recovered (*u*). Queen Elizabeth gave them many marks of her favour; amongst others, she bestowed certain additional laws in 1583, and, in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, put them under the see of Winchester (*w*).

JAMES the First sent, at the desire of the people, commissioners into Guernsey, and, upon their application, gave his sanction to some new laws (*x*). Charles the First provided for their security against France, where they meditated an invasion; and if his misfortunes had not prevented, intended them farther favours (*y*). Their loyalty to that monarch, to the last, and his son, Charles the Second, was very conspicuous; and before they were reduced by the parliament A. D. 1651, their privateers made the nation but too sensible, by their depredations, of the mischiefs that must ensue, if ever these islands should fall into an enemy's hand (*z*). The French, taking advantage of that monarch's distress, would have bought them, but he rejected their offer, with the same spirit as he had done those of the Dutch for the Islands of Scilly (*a*). Anno Domini 1666, there being a war declared

(*r*) These ordinances were comprised under thirty-three articles; which, except where altered by subsequent orders of council, are laws to this day.—(*s*) Chronique MS. de l'Isle de Jersey, chap. xix. Lambarde's Topographical and Historical Dictionary, p. 123.—(*t*) King Edward's Journal of his own Reign, at the end of the second volume of Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. 6. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 671. Godwin's Annals, p. 233.—(*u*) Chronique MS. de l'Isle de Jersey, chap. xxxiv. Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, P. i. b. iv. ch. xi. § 18. Heylin's Survey of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. v. p. 295, 296.—(*w*) Rot. Pat. 7 Eliz. p. 3. Rot. Pat. 11 Eliz. p. 8. in dorso. R. Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Historiæ, lib. vi. p. 189.—(*x*) Rot. Pat. 2 Jac. I. p. 19. Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. vi. vii. viii. The Rev. Mr. Falle, in his Account of Jersey, p. 94, has these remarkable words, "The two reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. were, on all accounts, the best days we ever saw, and truly the GOLDEN AGE of these islands."—(*y*) Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 293. He was chaplain to the Earl of Danby, governor of Guernsey, with whom he went over thither.—(*z*) Brief Relations of Transactions civil and military, &c. licensed by Walter Frost, secretary to the council of state, No. xi. p. 121. The perfect Diurnal, published by authority, A. D. 1650, No. xxiv. p. 259. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 491, 492, 495, 498, 500, &c.—(*a*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. B. xiii. p. 465. Whitlock's Memorials,

ed between the two nations, the French thought to seize the Island of Guernsey by a stratagem: Major-general Lambert, who had made so great a figure in the service of parliament, being confined there, the Captain of Chauzey, a small rock of theirs (*b*) near it, was sent thither with a letter, in which an offer was made to attempt setting him at liberty, in order to create new disturbances, which would have served their purpose: But that gentleman very prudently revealed the design; for which the captain, and the master in whose vessel he came over, were hanged as spies, and the king immediately provided for the security of this isle; and also sent Sir Thomas Morgan as governor, with a competent force, to Jersey (*c*). They concurred in the revolution, and have manifested their attachment to liberty, and signalized their zeal for the British interest, on every occasion that has happened since.

THE nearest of the two larger islands is that styled in the Itinerary, Sarnia (mistaken, perhaps, for Garnia) possibly the same with Garnona, which the Notitia places near Armorica (*d*). We call it Guernsey, though no appellation has been more variously expressed; yet with these it would be equally needless and tedious to trouble the reader. Guernsey, in point of situation, lies twenty leagues south west from Weymouth in Dorsetshire, between eight and nine leagues west from the coast of Normandy, thirteen south of Bretagne, seven north west from Jersey, five south west from Alderney, and two leagues west from Sarke. In length from north east to south west, about twelve miles; in breadth, from south to north, about nine; in circumference upwards of thirty, containing fifty square miles, or thirty-two thousand acres (*e*). The climate is mild and temperate, not subject to excessive heats, much less to severe cold; somewhat windy, but, taking all things together, equally healthy and pleasant. The soil is, generally speaking, rich and fertile; the country, though sufficiently enclosed with stone fences, yet more open than in Jersey, and as capable of cultivation of every kind. On the north side, the coast is commonly low and flat, rising gradually, so that on the south side the cliffs are of a prodigious height (*f*). The face of the country is variegated with hills

Memorials, p. 518. Falle's Account of Jersey, p. 121.—(*b*) In this isle there is an inexhaustible quarry of hard white stone, with a blueish cast; which, being wrought smooth with a hammer, is to the full as permanent, and very near as beautiful as marble.—(*c*) Miscellanea Aulica, p. 407. Phillips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 554. Echard's History of England, p. 833.—(*d*) Lambard's Historical and Topographical Dictionary, p. 123. Camdeni Britannia, p. 855. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 127.—(*e*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 94. Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 297. Additions to Camden's Britannia in English.—(*f*) Harrison's Description of Britain, b. i. ch. x. p. 32. Camdeni Britannia, p. 855. Dacey's Historical Account of Guernsey, p. 23.

and little eminences, and tolerably well watered with springs and sharp gravelly streams. There was formerly a fine lake, about half a league in extent, now filled up and turned into a meadow (*g*); but many gentlemen have still very beautiful and convenient fish-ponds.

THERE are very few countries in the world where the inhabitants have more reason to be satisfied with the inheritance that nature has assigned them, since scarce any part of the island is incapable of improvement. Most of the rising grounds afford a short, thick grass, equally beautiful to the eye and succulent as pasture. Roots and herbs it produces of all kinds, excellent, medicinal, and aromatic, with a profusion of flowers that grow wild, and are exquisitely fragrant. All sorts of shrubs and fruit trees flourish here; and there is some, though but little timber, not through any defect of soil or climate, but because they cannot conveniently afford it room (*h*). Grain they have of every species we cultivate in Britain, but more especially wheat; and though they have not either lime, chalk, or marle, yet the sea wreck answers all the intention of manure, so well as to keep their ground in constant heart. They have large quantities of sheep, but small in size, and had formerly a very singular breed, of which the ewes had four horns and the rams six; but these are now become very scarce (*i*). Black cattle in such abundance, as not only to support their own uses, but to furnish also a considerable exportation; and their horses, though but little, are equally strong and hardy: The sea also furnishes them with a prodigious variety, as well as plenty of fish, more especially red and grey mullet, excellent mackrel, and above all, conger eels. To these advantages we may add, the singular privilege of being free from all venomous creatures (*k*).

THERE are in this island ten parishes, each of which is divided into several vintons, for the more easy management of affairs, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, and the choice of their respective officers and magistrates (*l*).—Tho' the country is very fully peopled, yet the houses are scattered up and down, according to the humour or the conveniency of the inhabitants; so that there is, properly speaking, but one town in the island, which is likewise the only haven of any resort; though there are some creeks on the north and west sides of the island, such as Bazon, L'Aucresse, Ferminer, St. Samp-

(*g*) Dr. Heylin, speaking of this lake, says it was exceedingly well stored with carp, the best that ever mortal eye beheld, for taste and bigness.—(*h*) It was proposed, in the reign of Charles II. to let apart ten acres in every parish, for oaks, elm, and chefnut, and in process of time to have introduced ship-building, and other manufactures.—(*i*) Mr. Camden was misinformed in respect to these sheep, the wool of which was fine, but then they yielded but a small quantity.—(*k*) Heylin's Survey of the State of Guensey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 297. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 182. Falle's Account of Jersey, chap. ii. p. 162, 163.—(*l*) Camden's Britannia, p. 855. Heylin's Cosmography, B. i. p. 168. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, B. i. chap. 48.

son, and the West Passage (*m*). In the reign of King Charles the Second, when the French formed that insidious design of making themselves masters of this isle by treachery, which has been already mentioned, it left such an impression on his majesty's mind, that some years after he sent over the Lord Dartmouth, accompanied by certain engineers, who discovered, on the north west side of the isle, a deep bay, which by the help of a mole, might cover a numerous squadron, even of ships of the line, under the protection of what was also intended to be built, a strong castle: But his Exchequer being exhausted, this necessary work was never carried into execution (*n*). As this port would look full into the channel, it deserves consideration, how far it might be useful to us in the time of a French war, and of what infinite detriment it might prove, if this island should ever fall into the hands of our enemies. As for the town of St. Peter, it is seated on the east side of the island, where the land bends in, and makes a safe, capacious bay. It has a very handsome appearance from the sea, consists of about eight hundred houses, which are strong stone edifices, but, in general, far enough from being either spacious or convenient, and, which is worst of all, the place is so straitened by the hills behind it, that it cannot be much enlarged. The people in it have been computed at about four thousand (*o*). The harbour, which is called Port St. Pierre, or Port de la Chauffee, is singular and deserves to be described. Ships pass into it from a very good road, directly under the guns of the castle, and moor close to the town. The piers, or causeways, are composed of vast stones, piled up very artificially, one upon another, to thirty-five feet in height, and laid with so much skill and regularity, that it has stood all the violence of the sea between four and five hundred years (*p*). This not only affords a security to the shipping, but being paved with fine flag-stones on the top, and guarded with parapets, serves as a very pleasant walk, affording a fine prospect of the sea, and of the adjacent islands. This commodious port is covered by Castle Cornet, built entirely upon a rock, at six hundred paces from the shore; so that at full sea it is a compleat island, and the

(*m*) All these ports are in a state of nature, but might be certainly improved and fortified, which would be productive of many advantages to the island; as was long ago observed and proposed to government by Captain Yarranton.—(*n*) This curious fact is taken from the *Memoirs of Sr. de Saumarez*, inserted by Mr. Falle, in his *Introduction to the Historical Account of Jersey*, and from thence transcribed into several works, by other writers.—(*o*) Heylin's *Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey*, p. 298, 299. Additions to Bp. Gibson's last edition of the *English Camden's Britannia*, col. 1513. Dacey's *Historical Account of Guernsey*, p. 22.—(*p*) As this port was made in the reign of Edward I. most probably at the public expence, we may infer thence (1) that the great consequence of preserving these isles from the French was attended to, as well as understood; (2) that the preservation of them was believed to depend on commerce and a naval force; (3) and that maritime architecture, particularly constructing ports by art, was in those days well known, and we may conclude, commonly practised.

space between is scarce passable at the lowest ebb after spring tides: This is the residence of the governor, or deputy governor, and his garrison. It was blown up by lightning in 1672, when the Lord Viscount Hatton held that office, who escaped himself, almost miraculously, but lost his mother and his wife (*q*).

To speak of the inhabitants impartially, they are very industrious in their respective employments, naturally sober, frugal in their manner of living, honest in their dealings, sincere in their religion, which is that of the church of England, and loyal to their princes, as well as steady to the British interest. That with these good qualities they have several failings, is not to be denied; they are reserved, to a degree that makes them sometimes thought morose; they are somewhat suspicious; and, which is their greatest error, they are, or at least were, very litigious (*r*). They are good husbandmen in their own way, and manage their sea wreck (which first serves the poor people for fuel, and then its ashes are employed by those in better circumstances for manure) with great skill, and under very prudent regulations (*s*). They have a stronger turn, however, to grazing, than to agriculture; and though they bring in annually some corn, yet in the same space they send out a few hundred cattle. They are still more inclined to orchards, which enables them to make many thousand hog-heads of cyder every year, of which, being the common drink of the people, they export but little (*t*). The woollen is their principal manufacture, for the carrying on of which they are allowed to import two thousand tods from England, which they work up chiefly in stockings, waistcoats, and breeches (*u*). They might certainly make their fishery turn to profit, more especially, as of late years they have set up salt-works; and yet, except lobsters, I never heard that any of their fish went to a foreign market. Our French and Portugal merchants have large stocks of wine here, which they import as they have occasion. As they are enabled, by this method, to keep it to a proper age before they are obliged to pay the duty, it seems to be a benefit to the mother country, by putting it in their power both to buy and sell cheaper. As on the other

(*q*) Life of Dr. John North, by Roger North, Esq; p. 251. Additions made in Bishop Gibson's last edition of Camden's Britannia. Dicey's Historical Account of Guernsey, p. 122.—(*r*) Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, p. 302, 303. Falle's Account of Jersey, chap. vii. p. 326, 327.—(*s*) In the Law-latin of these isles this plant is called *wreccum*, though botanical authors stile it *alga marina*. The wreck is cut in summer, and about the vernal equinox, by the proclamation of the magistrates, and when dried, distributed by their order. As for the winter wreck, which after storms is thrown in large quantities on the coasts; this is also equitably divided, and being strewed wet, and so ploughed into the ground, renders it continually fertile.—(*t*) It has been thought that some improvement, in respect to the choice of fruit, and in the manner of keeping as well as making the cyder, might render it a commodity of great value to the inhabitants,—(*u*) Stat. 14. Car. II. cap. 18. § 10. grants half this quantity; but this proving too little, was doubled by Stat. 1 W. III. and M. II. chap. 32. § 14.

hand, from the rent of warehouses, the subsisting factors and their servants, the resort of ships employed in this trade, it must be very advantageous to the inhabitants of this island (*w*). It is a point of justice to observe, that this manner of depositing wines has nothing at all to do with smuggling, a practice equally injurious to the interests of this country, and to the people of Guernsey; as it breeds few seamen, is carried on in very small vessels, and upon the whole is not only an infamous, but a very unprofitable kind of traffic (*x*). Heretofore, merchants of this isle traded to most parts of Europe, and had several stout ships of their own, and if this vile practice was abolished, as it might easily be, without any violation of the liberties of the people, they would soon find their account in it, by the revival of many lucrative branches of commerce (*y*). As they take from England some of the necessaries, and almost all the conveniencies of life, such as corn, malt liquor, sugars, spices, coals, household furniture, many species of the iron and leather manufactures, grocery, haberdashery, and hard-wares, the balance is greatly in our favour, and must continually increase, in proportion as they augment in number and grow easier in circumstances (*z*). At present, upon a very modest computation, there are in Guernsey upwards of fifteen thousand souls.

The several islets, and vast chains of rocks that surround this country on every side, and cause such a variety of tides and currents, add much to the security of the place, by rendering it equally difficult and dangerous for ships to approach it, unless they have pilots aboard extremely well acquainted with the coast. On the south side the cliffs are prodigiously high, so that the old writers say, it looks like a park in the sea, impaled with rocks. On the west side lie the Hanoys, or, as the French write them, Hanovaux, which cover that coast so effectually, that a descent there is little to be feared (*a*).

(*w*) It appears to me, that depositing goods in this manner is one of the most certain methods of preventing smuggling, while high duties are continued; because by this means, the merchant is not constrained to pay custom, till he is secure of a market, and sells his wines soon after the payment of the duties, consequently without lying out of his money himself, or being obliged to charge interest upon it in the price to his customers, as he otherwise must.—(*x*) The smuggling is principally carried on by persons from England, and therefore the people of Guernsey think they may justify themselves, by disclaiming it.—(*y*) It is a point of great consequence, but, at the same time, of some difficulty, to find an adequate remedy for this intolerable evil, and which may not be attended with capital inconveniencies; yet the thing is by no means impossible, if managed by disinterested persons.—(*z*) By convincing the states of Guernsey, that an extensive commerce is their interest, which being incompatible with an illicit trade, they may be brought to act cordially and vigorously in suppressing those practices, which can hardly be removed by other methods; and this would contribute to a more enlarged correspondence between that island and Britain, which would be reciprocally advantageous to both.—(*a*) Near these is a small rocky islet, on which, in former times (when every cragg was occupied) stood a little chantry, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and very famous amongst the sailors, by the name of our Lady of Lehu. See Heylin's Survey of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 298.

At the north west extremity lies a little island called the Howe, which would be a very convenient place for a salt-work, glass-house, or manufactory of soap. At the north-east extremity we meet with St. Michael in the vale, a peninsula some miles in extent, connected to Guernsey by a very narrow isthmus, with bays that might be rendered useful on both sides. This peninsula is likewise guarded by rocks and islets, the most considerable of which are, the Bryants, the Hummet, and the Hays. South-east from the vale, lies the island of Har-nit, or Arne, about a league in compass, formerly desart, but now cultivated. At a league south from thence lies Briehoe, of less extent; and between both, the little island of Gythau, or Jethau, which serves the governor for a kind of park, or rather paddock (*b*). But it is now time to speak of those two larger islands, which being improved and well inhabited, are dependant upon, and make part of the government of Guernsey.

THE first of these is thought to be that isle, called in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Arica; by the French, Aurney, Aurney, Aurigney; but by us Alderney (*c*). It lies about two leagues west from Cape de la Hogue, on the coast of Normandy, about thirty leagues south-west from Portland, five leagues north west from Guernsey, and nine leagues north from Jersey. It rises high out of the sea, and, like the rest, is in a manner entirely surrounded with rocks, between four and five miles in length, in some places one, in others two miles broad; in circumference nine, and containing in extent about seven square miles, or nearly four thousand five hundred acres (*d*). The climate is very temperate, pleasant, and wholesome; the soil admirably fertile both in corn and grass, particularly remarkable for a common field of five hundred acres, which being manured with sea ore, has yielded profitable harvests, constantly, for above a century past (*e*). There are plenty of cattle in Alderney, excellent in their kind, and which are sufficiently known in Britain; sheep, horses, fowl, and fish, in abundance. The lands are more open than in the other islands, the houses not dispersed as in them, but the whole compact together in the centre of the isle, which are upwards of two hundred, in what is called la Ville, i. e. the town, where there is a good church; and the inhabitants may be between a thousand and

(*b*) We have in the former section shewn, that even these little places may be rendered useful and profitable, which supercedes the necessity of making the same kind of remarks here — (*c*) Lambard's Topographical and Historical Dictionary, p. 20. 123. Camden's Britannia, p. 854. Heylin's Cosmography, p. 183. — (*d*) Philemon Holland's Translation of the Britannia. Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 295, compared with the latest maps. — (*e*) Additions, by the Rev. Mr. Falle, to Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden, col. 1507. It is highly probable, that the quantity of corn in this island might be still augmented, if the inhabitants had a better port, larger vessels, and could of course send it to different markets.

fifteen hundred (*f*). The port stiled la Crabbie is on the south side secured by a rough stone pier, and is capable only of admitting small vessels (*g*). The Duke of Somerset, uncle and protector to Edward the Sixth, caused a strong fort, the ruins of which are still visible, to be begun here, with an intent to have retired thither, from the resentment of his enemies (*h*). The people of this isle are allowed four hundred tods of wool from England, besides what they raise of their own, which they manufacture and sell in Guernsey.

THE other island, belonging to this government, is SARKE, lying two leagues east from Guernsey, and six west from Cape Kefel in Normandy, three leagues to the north of Jersey; and though, in point of size, it is but small, yet in other respects is far from being inconsiderable. In its form it approaches an oval, having a lesser island annexed to it by a narrow isthmus; they are not, together, above three miles in length, the largest very little more than one mile in breadth, and about five, or at most six, in circumference (*i*). This island rises high above the sea, and is, if one may so speak, regularly fortified, by a rampart of steep impenetrable cliffs, so that it has but one access, which though in itself easy and commodious, may be rendered, with great facility, impervious to invaders, let their force be what it will (*k*). In point of climate, it yields not to any of the rest, and the soil is so fertile, that it produces more corn than those who dwell in it can consume, as also grafs sufficient for the support of black cattle, sheep, and horses, with which it is exceedingly well stocked. This island is allowed two hundred tods of wool annually from Britain; the number of inhabitants is about five hundred, out of which, likewise, they raise a company of militia, without taking from the hands necessary for tillage (*l*). Though peopled so early as the sixth century, when St. Magloire, or, as he is commonly called, St. Manlier, built a convent here, yet it was afterwards deserted, and in that state was insidiously seized by the French, in the reign of Edward the Sixth; and recovered by surprize, for by force it could not have been taken,

(*f*) It was granted by Queen Elizabeth, to George, son of Sir Leonard Chamberlain, then governor of Guernsey, when the town consisted of fourscore dwellings. But that it was settled, and probably better peopled, long before, appears from records. Rot. Finium 31 Edw. I. m. 18. Rot. Parl. 14 Ric. II. m. 20.

—(*g*) Between this isle and the coast of France lies the passage called Raz-Blanchard, or the Race of Alderney, through which part of the French fleet escaped from the battle of la Hogue in A. D. 1692.—(*h*) This was charged upon the duke as a criminal act, Stowe's annals, p. 602. Sir John Hayward's life of Edward VI. in Kennet's Complete History, vol. ii. p. 309.—(*i*) Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, p. 295. 296.—(*k*) This entrance, which in many respects is very singular, is now defended by several pieces of cannon; and the inhabitants (more especially in time of war) are exceedingly vigilant and alert.—(*l*) As I was informed by my late worthy friend, Charles Strachan, Esq; many years deputy governor of Guernsey, and perfectly acquainted with these isles.

in that of Queen Mary (*m*). In the succeeding reign, to prevent any future accidents of that sort, it was granted in property to Hellier de Carteret Seigneur de St. Ouen, in the island of Jersey (*n*); by whom it was settled, but has passed since in other hands, and is now in a state of improvement, and the number of inhabitants continually increasing.

JERSEY, which of itself is a distinct government, is believed to be the island called in the Itinerary, CÆSAREA, in succeeding times AUGIA, by us, GERSEY, more frequently, JERSEY (*o*). It is situated twenty-five leagues south from the continent of Britain, five leagues west from Cape Carteret in Normandy, three leagues south from Sarke, seven leagues, according to the common computation, south-east from Guernsey, but in reality not so much; and nine leagues south from Alderney. It is of an oblong figure, measuring twelve miles from west to east, and six from north to south, in circumference between thirty-five and thirty-six, and, in point of extent, nearly equal to, or rather, somewhat larger than Guernsey (*p*): elevated like that, but, on the opposite side, declining, from south to north, the cliffs on that side which look towards Guernsey being forty or fifty fathom in height; whereas on the south, it is in a manner level with the sea. Hence the distance between St. Peter's and St. Hellier's is really seven leagues, tho' the islands have not above four leagues of sea between them (*q*). The people of Jersey think, that, from this elevation, they have a great advantage in point of climate, that their summers are warmer, and that their corn and fruits ripen better (*r*). The country is beautifully diversified with little hills, warm vallies, and, towards the sea, with pleasant plains. The soil also varies very much, in some places gravelly, in others sandy; but the greatest part is a deep, rich, fertile mould, and there is hardly any part of the island that can be stiled barren. It is also thought to be better watered than Guernsey, abounding every where with rills, rivulets, and living springs; so that there are between thirty and forty corn-mills driven by water, exclusive of seven fulling, and several windmills (*s*). The produce of this island is much the same with that of Guernsey; their pasture so sweet, that

(*m*) Chronique de Jersey, cap. xxxiv.—(*n*) Rot. Pat. 7 Eliz. p. 3. which, because granted in Capite, Mr. Selden cites in support of his singular opinion, that these islands belong to the crown of England in its own right, and were never parcel of the Duchy of Normandy; though this is positively affirmed (he has erroneously admitted) in the very body of the patent.—(*o*) Camdeni Britannia, 854. Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 252. Du Montier in Neustria Pia, chap. viii. p. 155. Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, 57.—(*p*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, p. 94. Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 300. Falle's Cæsarea; an Account of Jersey, p. 138.—(*q*) I have used all the care and diligence in my power in settling these distances exactly; however it is possible they may not be perfectly correct.—(*r*) Falle's Account of Jersey, chap. ii. p. 139, copied by several writers; but on his authority rests the fact.—(*s*) It is evident, that the elevation before-mentioned gives a greater force to the streams, which are longer in their courses than in the island had risen in the middle.

no country in Europe can boast of richer milk, or finer butter; grain of all kinds, and particularly a sort of wheat called froment-tremais, from its being sown in the latter end of May, and reaped in the beginning of August. But what chiefly distinguishes this island at present, is its orchards, which are very well fenced, regularly planted, and yield, commonly, immense quantities of fruit (*t*).

ON the south of the island the sea seems to have encroached upon the land, (which, as we have before observed, declines on that side) and to have swallowed upwards of six square miles, making a very beautiful bay of between two and three miles broad, and near the same in depth. In the east corner of this bay stands the town of St. Helier, very happily situated, having a prospect open to the sea and Mount Elizabeth Castle (which, since it was repaired and the works augmented in the reign of Charles the Second, entirely occupies a rocky isle which the sea, when it devoured the soil, could not digest), covered with hills to the north, with meadows between them and the town, through which runs a copious and delightful stream, that waters the place as well as can be wished. The streets are open and well built, with a handsome square in the center, and well accommodated in point of markets, and every thing that can contribute to the convenience of the inhabitants, of whom there may be about two thousand (*u*). There has been of late years a pier raised, which is a great advantage to the port, and of course not a little to the benefit of the town. But the principal haven is on the other side, in the western corner of the bay, which receives its name from it, being called St. Aubin's. It is about half the size of St. Helier, chiefly occupied by merchants and masters of ships; and most of the buildings being new, make a very neat and elegant figure. A little to the eastward of the town a rock rises up in the sea, upon which the fort of St. Aubin is erected; to which the inhabitants having joined a strong, well-built pier, their haven is now equally secured against the fury of the winds, and the insults of an enemy. Within the pier, a sixth rate just floats at a dead neap, and a vessel of two hundred tons at all times; but ships of superior size must lie without, in the road, where there is good anchoring, and the whole bay being a fine, clean, hard sand, renders the intercourse between the two towns, which are about three miles distant, perfectly easy (*w*). There are, besides these, several other havens of less note; as, St. Brelade's Bay, at the back of St. Aubin's; the great bay of St. Ouen, which takes in

(*t*) The principal liquor in this country was formerly mead, and the honey of Jersey still maintains its reputation, and keeps up its price.—(*u*) Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 301. It is remarkable, that Dr. Heylin, who was actually here, copying Mr. Camden, calls it St. Hillary's. Falle's Account of Jersey, chap. ii. p. 168, 169.—(*w*) Heylin's Cosmography, Book i. p. 188. Additions to Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden's Britannia, col. 1511. La Bastide's Plan of the Town, Harbour, and Bay of St. Aubin.

the greatest part of the west side of the island, where the largest ships may ride, in twelve and fifteen fathom, safe from all but east winds: La Crevasse is a port only for boats; Greve de Lecq, and, Port St. John, are also small havens, on the north side, where is likewise Bonnenuit. On the east there is the bay of St. Catherine, and the harbour of Rosel; to the south of which lies the famous MOUNT ORGUEIL Castle, formerly Castle Gourray, upon a solid rock, which was entirely covered with its out-works; once the glory of this isle, and still majestic, though in decay. To the south west lies the haven de la Chauffée. The last we shall mention is the Port de Pat, a very little to the eastward of St. Aubin's Bay. All these are covered with breast-works, well defended by cannon (x).

THE state of things, and the occupations of the people, are very much changed from what they were a century past, or a very little more (y): The country then was, in a manner, altogether arable or pasture, and the people, in general, applied themselves to agriculture; whereas, now, every house has its orchards, and these orchards are so fenced with strong and thick mounds of earth and stone, frequently surmounted by hedges, and sometimes by trees, that it has been thought, not by transient spectators, but even on reflection affirmed by the most competent judges, these inclosures, together with larger or lesser roads, take up not less than a third part of the surface of the island (z); and they have such an abundance of fruit, that it is believed, in a good year, they make between twenty and thirty thousand hogsheads of cyder; and if we consider, that this is the common drink of the inhabitants, we may easily acquiesce in the account (a). Their great manufacture is the same with that of Guernsey, the working up of their wool, and that, which by two acts of parliament they are allowed to import from England, which is four thousand tons; and some say, that ten thousand pair of stockings, of all sorts and sizes, are brought weekly to the market of St. Helier (b). In ancient times they depended greatly upon

(x) This account is according to the best information I could obtain, compared with the most correct maps that I could procure.—(y) In former times they exported wheat, particularly to France; now they import it annually, mostly from Britain, though sometimes also from Dantzick.—(z) In this isle, where every thing is done by weight and measure, there are three kinds of roads, (1) Chemins de Roy, i. e. the king's highway, twelve feet in breadth, exclusive of two feet on each bank, or side, in all, sixteen feet. (2) Chemins de Huit Pieds, i. e. eight feet road, with side-ways of two feet, making twelve in the whole. (3) Chemins de Quatre Pieds, i. e. four feet roads, resembling our bridle-ways. These are annually examined by the magistrates, who see that they are kept in good order, and not encroached on.—(a) If we reflect, that the people grow most of their bread corn, breed all the cattle they consume, and obtain the most part of their drink from their own lands, and that the whole extent of their orchards, (according even to this calculation) does not amount to two thousand five hundred English acres, we cannot dispute their being good oeconomists.—(b) Faile's Account of Jersey, chap. ii. p. 177. I have seen a computation, by which this branch of industry was shewn to produce, annually, twenty-five thousand pounds. If proper care was taken in the choice of our fruit, making and managing one-sixth part of their cyder for exportation, the profit and freight would yield little less.

their

their fishery, in which they are much inferior at present, to Guernsey; but whereas they had formerly larger ships, and a greater share of commerce, that is now in the hands of the people of Jersey, who send annually thirty stout ships to the Newfoundland fishery; and, in time of peace, great quantities of tobacco are smuggled from thence into France (*c*). For the defence of the island they have two troops of horse, five regiments of infantry, and a fine train of artillery, exclusive of what is in their several castles, and on the redoubts and breast-works upon their coasts, amounting in the whole, to one hundred and fifteen eighteen-pounders, given by King William to the island in 1692 (*d*). There are always regular troops in Elizabeth Castle, and in Fort St. Aubin; and, in time of war, they have commonly a body of forces from England. The whole number of inhabitants is computed at about twenty-five thousand, all of whom are (except a very few) natives of the place (*e*).

ORIGINALLY, all these islands were under the jurisdiction of one great officer, styled, sometimes Lord, sometimes Bailiff, and sometimes Guardian of the Isles (*f*). In those early times he had almost regal authority; indeed, there have been periods when our kings were disposed to give these isles to those great officers, in as absolute a manner as held by themselves. Thus King Richard gave them in appenage to his brother John (*g*); Henry the Third to Prince Edward (*h*); Henry the Fifth to Edward Plantagenet Duke of York, and, upon his demise, to John Duke of Bedford, his own brother (*i*): But Henry the Sixth went beyond them all, granting them, after the decease of his uncle Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (who had them after the death of his other uncle, Bedford), to his own great favourite, and, which is more, creating him who was Henry Earl of Warwick, as we have elsewhere observed, King of the Isles, and, as such, crowning him with his own hands (*k*). But, very luckily for the people, none of these grants (except

(*c*) They defend themselves against this accusation, by alledging, the French come and purchase these commodities, and that they send nothing on their own account.—(*d*) All these breast-works, and other fortifications are kept in good repair; the militia are clothed in red, like the regular forces, and constantly reviewed once a year.—(*e*) The Sugar Islands, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Antigua, are thought extremely populous, but then their inhabitants are bought, not bred upon the islands; and even taken together, whites and blacks, do not exceed, the size of the respective countries being also considered, the numbers contained in Jersey.—(*f*) In Latin, Dominus, Ballivus, Custos Insularum, all with nearly the same powers, as lieutenants to, and representatives of, the sovereign; but for different terms, some being during pleasure, some for three or six years, and some for life.—(*g*) It is not improbable, that these isles having been his private estate while Earl of Moreton, might give this prince that affection for them which he afterwards expressed.—(*h*) Henry was desirous of calling all his care upon his son, afterwards Edward I. to whom, as we have already mentioned, he yielded his title to Wales, of which some make him the first prince.—(*i*) This grant (still extant) is dated November 27, 1415, being the third of Henry the Fifth. This Duke of Bedford died in the high office of Regent of France, September 14, 1435.—(*k*) See Political Survey of Britain, vol. i. p. 460.

the first) took effect for any long space of time. King Henry the Seventh separated them into two governments (*l*); as King John had, before, divested this officer of his power over the laws. He, or as the custom of late years is, his deputy is also named by his majesty, is at the head of the military government. The bailiff, now made king, though formerly appointed by the governor, is the chief magistrate, and precedes the governor in courts of justice, but no where else; and is entrusted with the custody, and, under certain restrictions, with the use of the great seal: he has likewise his lieutenant (*m*). There are also, in each government, Coronatores Jurati, in English, Jurats, Sworn Justices, or Justices of the Peace, twelve in number, elected not by the particular parishes, but by the people in general. To these we may add, the following ministerial officers, le Procureur du Roy, the Attorney-General; l'Avocat du Roy, the Solicitor-General; le Vicomte, in Jersey, in Guernsey, le Provost, the High Sheriff; le Greffier, the Recorder; two Under Sheriffs, and l'Enregistreur, the Keeper of the Rolls. These are all members of the royal courts, in each of the islands. Every parish has its constable, which is a triennial office of great honour and trust; each constable having under him two centeniers, or lieutenants, and twelve sermentes, or sworn assistants. There is also, in every vinton, a vintonier. These officers execute justice, suppress disorders, levy all taxes, with very little expence to the people. In the states of both islands, the governor, or his deputy, presides, having first called them together; and he has also a negative voice. They pass laws, raise money, naturalize strangers, and appoint deputies to carry addresses, or representations, on their behalf, to the crown (*n*).

THESE islands, as the lawyers agree, though parcel of the dominions of the crown, are not, or ever were, parcel of the realm of England (*o*). On this account their laws are different, being derived from the custom of Normandy, contained in Mancell's Institutes, the common law, or local usages, in every island, the ordinances of our kings, and their own laws and judgments, in their royal courts. Appeals lie from their judicatures to the king in council, and doleances, according

(*l*) This monarch saw the imprudence of trusting the whole in one hand; and therefore, not only divided the governments, but lessened the power of each of these governors in his own island.—(*m*) King James I. by his letters patent, dated August 9th, in the 13th of his reign, A. D. 1615, acknowledges the wisdom of Henry VII. in depriving the governor of the power of nominating the bailiff, declares that constitution of Henry VII. a fundamental law, assigns one hundred marks as an annual fee to the bailiff, and strictly enjoins the governors not to intermeddle in the appointment of any of the royal officers.—(*n*) Heylin's Survey of the State of Guernsey and Jersey, chap. i. p. 206, 207, 208. Falle's Account of Jersey, chap. iii. iv. v. Dacey's Historical Account of Guernsey, p. 67. 72.—(*o*) Coke's Institutes, P. iv. chap. lxx. Sir Matthew Hale's History and Analysis of the Common Law of England, chap. ix. Curzon's Compendium of the Laws and Customs of England, &c. p. 427.

to the mode in Normandy (*p*). Their lands and estates descend in gavel kind (*q*). They do not estimate their rents by money, but by quarters of wheat, and rent charges are created in the same manner; which rents or rent charges may be paid from Michaelmas to St. Lawrence's day, which is the tenth of August following, in kind; but after that period is elapsed, in money, as the price is set, for the year, by the royal court (*r*). A gentleman who has a hundred quarters of wheat due to him annually, for rent or rent charges, in these isles, is equivalent to a man of seventy pounds a year in any other place (*s*). Their ports were formerly esteemed neutral, even in time of war, not only by us, but by our neighbours, which gave them great advantages in commerce; but their zeal for the British interest having prompted them to fit out privateers, this singular privilege, and all the benefits flowing from it, is lost (*t*). No sheep or lamb can be exported into foreign countries from any of these islands, or any India goods imported, but from England, under very severe penalties; all goods or manufactures of these islands may be imported, duty free, into England, unless they are exciseable, and then they are to pay the same excise that would be paid for the like goods or manufactures here. Ships built in these islands are within the navigation act, and may, if registered, trade to the plantations. Duties upon foreign salt are drawn back, if exported into these isles; but salt made in them, and imported into Britain, is to pay duty as if it was foreign salt (*u*). Lastly, they are not bound by any of our statutes, unless particularly mentioned in them, and even then the statute is transmitted to them under the king's broad seal.

If we enquire into the causes whence these islands are, and have been, always in an extraordinary degree populous, we shall find it principally owing to their steady adherence to their original constitution (succinctly digested, indeed, into several articles, by King John, but of a far more early institution)

(*p*) These complain directly of injustice; and therefore, whoever enters a diligence, deposits a certain sum, by way of security, to prosecute it within a year and a day, which is forfeited if the doleant fails in making out his complaint.—(*q*) Dr. Heylin complains bitterly of this tenure, and others are not pleased with it, but, as they own it makes the islands populous, we cannot be of their opinion; those who would abolish it have never considered the good effects it produces, and the many inconveniencies that would ensue, if, to gratify the avarice or ambition of a few, this fundamental policy, coeval with the islands, was abolished.—(*r*) This has been also treated as another grievance, perhaps with as little reason; for by this means rents are higher when necessities are dear, and lower when they are cheap; in which, as there was originally much equity, there is still great convenience.—(*s*) It is requisite to remark, that the quarter of wheat here is no more than five bushels, and the computation in the text takes three shillings for the middle price.—(*t*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 855. Seldeni Mare claus. lib. ii. cap. 19, et iterum cap. 22. The bull of Sixtus IV. in support of this privilege, is preserved in Falle's Account of Jersey, in the Appendix, p. 354.—(*u*) Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. xxxii. §. 1. 7 Geo. I. cap. xxi §. 9. 3 Geo. I. cap. iv. §. 5. 7 & 8 Will. III. cap. xxii. §. 17. 5 Geo. I. cap. xviii. §. 11. 2 & 3 Ann. cap. xiv. §. 9.

from which they have hardly in any instance digressed; and having had no factions, much less domestic revolutions, have retained, constantly, virtue and force sufficient to repel all foreign invasions. The form of their government, corresponding with the principles of their constitution, pervades and animates the whole mass of the people; so that each individual is persuaded of the duty he owes to, because he feels as well as comprehends, the interest he has in the public. This establishes a national habit of industry, every man being brought up in the means of supplying, as well as born subject to, the necessities of nature. The impossibility of accumulating a large fortune, from the legal distribution of estates, preserves a greater equality in circumstances than is almost any where else to be found; and this equality produces an emulation which nothing else could produce. France and Britain are the countries which, from their proximity, seem to solicit their people to quit their narrow limits, but, hitherto, with little effect; the causes of which may be, at least probably, assigned. An hatred to the French government in former times, and a still stronger aversion to Popery of late days, has hindered the natives of these isles from removing into that country, though they spoke the same language with the inhabitants. On the other hand, the not speaking our tongue, and their knowledge that we were not very fond of strangers, deterred them from coming hither, and inclined them to think it best, upon the whole, to stay at home. Yet it must be allowed, that into Britain several of the gentry have occasionally removed; and, if this were a proper place, instances might be easily given of their distinguishing themselves in the church, in the state, in the republic of letters, in the army, and in the fleet.

A THOROUGH knowledge of the infinite importance of these islands, as so many barriers against France; a well-grounded foresight of the innumerable mischiefs that must follow, on their falling under the power of that crown; and a just sense of the steady and intrepid courage with which the inhabitants had so often defended themselves, induced our monarchs to give them many, and some very extraordinary marks of their grace and favour, exclusive of the fortifications they raised for their defence, and the fleets that, from time to time, they employed for their protection. Thus King Edward the Third directed a letter, not only to the bailiff and other magistrates, but to the people in Jersey in general, to thank them for the glorious stand they made against his enemies; which has been before-mentioned (*w*). Almost all our princes, after him, took a pleasure in recapitulating their services, on the renewing of their charters. Henry the Seventh gave them his sanction for the erection of two free-schools; Queen Elizabeth honoured them with larger and more explicit charters than any of her

(*w*) Rymeri Fœd. tom. v. p. 186. See also the Charters published by the judicious as well as industrious Mr. Falle, in his *Cæsaræa*, or an Account of Jersey.

predecessors; King James the First redressed several grievances, and shewed in many cases, an earnest attention to their interests and welfare; King Charles the First gave lands for endowing three fellowships, in as many colleges, at Oxford (x); King Charles the Second sent a mace, with a most honourable inscription, to be carried before the magistrates of Jersey (y); King William gave all the artillery requisite for their breast-works and other fortifications; and they have deserved and received many benefits from the crown in succeeding reigns.

THE past and present state of these islands, and their inhabitants, have been the more fully considered, for many weighty reasons. They are demonstrative proofs, not only of the general doctrine we have delivered, in respect to the excellence of an insular situation, but also of the lasting as well as stupendous effects of those public-spirited principles, upon which true policy is founded. They deliver us from the necessity of appealing to the state of small islands in times past, or at a great distance; for they furnish us with all the evidence of facts requisite, in our own days, in our own hands, and at our own doors. To press this argument farther, and to point out more explicitly the consequences that flow from it, would be to distrust the reader's understanding. His own thoughts will suggest more in favour of the sentiments I support, than it would be fit for me to say.

BUT, after all, I am far from thinking, that these isles are improved to the utmost; on the contrary, I am persuaded, that if they sought, discovered, and wrought mines, which the emery formerly brought from Guernsey, and a celebrated mineral spring which is in Jersey (z), seem to shew they possess; if they cultivated flax, and introduced the linen, or even the thread manufacture, it would produce infinite advantages to the inhabitants; and if one or two ports, capable of receiving large ships, were opened in the larger islands, it would contribute to the extending their navigation and commerce, and induce them to concur effectually in eradicating that pernicious practice of smuggling, which is equally inconsistent with good government and sound morals. In all, or any of these attempts, they have a just right to the assistance of Great-Britain; because whatever accession of strength they can attain must redound to our security, and whatever augments their wealth must turn finally to our profit; which this section sufficiently shews, and to which, therefore, it is time to put an end.

(x) These three are the Colleges of Exeter, Jesus, and Pembroke, to which that excellent prelate, Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, added five scholarships in Pembroke, of twelve pounds per annum; three to Jersey, and two from Guernsey.—(y) Falie's Account of Jersey, in the Appendix, p. 333. The same monarch gave the highest testimony to their fidelity and duty in his charter.—(z) Meretti Pinax rerum naturalium Britannicarum, p. 213. Woodward's Natural History of Fossils, tom. 1. p. 63. Hartlib's Legacy, p. 87. The purging spring is in St. Mary's Parish in Jersey, and was highly commended by Dr. Walter Charlton, who resided there some years.

SECTION III.

The Island and Kingdom of MAN.

The different names of this island, and accounts given of it by ancient authors. The few particulars known of their first line of princes. The history of Man under the second line of kings. The acquisition of this isle by Goddard Crownan, and the succession of its kings and lords to the present times. The situation, size, and extent of this, in comparison of other countries. The air, climate, soil, mountains, and rivulets. The minerals, grain, cattle, fowl, and fish. The several commodities of this isle. The chief towns and principal harbours in it. The government, civil, ecclesiastical, and military; with the customs and dispositions of the people. The want of improvements, loss of commerce, and declining of their fishery, has introduced the pernicious practice of smuggling, with all the mischiefs that necessarily attend it. The several laws that have been made (with little success) in order to prevent the bad consequences of the contraband trade from thence to the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland. Remarks on the present state of that island and its inhabitants, and the means pointed out by which these evils may be removed, the people of Man made happy, and the island exceedingly useful to Britain.

THE first author who mentions this island is Cæsar; for there can be as little doubt, that by the Mona, of which he speaks in his Commentaries, placing it in the midst between Britain and Ireland, we are to understand Man (a); as that the Mona of Tacitus, which he acquaints us had a fordable streight between it and the continent, can be applied only to Anglesey (b). Pliny has set down both islands; Mona, by which he intends Anglesey, and Monabia, which is Man (c). In Ptolemy we find Monacæda, or Monaida (d), that is, the farther or more remote Môn. Orosius styles it Menavia (e), tells us that it was not extremely fertile, and that this, as well as Ireland, was then possessed by the Scots. Beda, who, as we have formerly remarked, distinguishes clearly two Menavian Islands, names this the Northern Menavia, be-

(a) De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 10. Lambarde's Topographical and Historical Dictionary, p. 203. Harrison's Description of Britaine, p. 37. a.—(b) Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. Vit. Agricol. Leland. Geneth. Badverdi Princip. p. 34. H. Lhuyd, Descript. Britain. fol. 17.—(c) Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 16. lib. ii. cap. 75. In some copies instead of Monabia, we find Monapia.—(d) Geograph. lib. viii. cap. 2.—(e) Hist. lib. i. cap. 2. Baxter and some other learned antiquaries think, instead of Menavia or Mevania, it should be Menania,

flowing the epithet of Southern, upon Anglesey (*f*). In some copies of Nennius this isle is denominated Eubonia, in others Menavia; but both are explained to mean Man (*g*). Alured of Beverley also speaks of it as one of the Menavian Islands (*h*). The Britons, in their own language, called it Manaw, more properly Main au, that is, a little island, which seems to be latinized in the word Menavia. All which clearly proves, that this small isle was as early inhabited, and as well known to the rest of the world, as either Britain or Ireland. This very fact, as to which we cannot entertain the least doubt, manifestly implies, that the people living here were employed, as well as subsisted, some way or other; and if we could any where meet with a distinct account of this, it would supply us with the ancient history of Man. But as we have no chronicle of this kind, we must pick up what scattered hints we can, not to amuse the reader with hard names and antiquated fables, but, if it be in any degree practicable, to furnish him with the means of forming some ideas of the past, present, and possible state of this island.

WE have in a former section shewn, that, in the close of the first century, the druids, who were the priests, prophets, and philosophers of the old Britons, were finally expelled by Julius Agricola from the Southern Mona (*i*); and we are told, and told with great probability, that they then took shelter in the northern (*k*). This island they found well planted with firs; so that they had, in some measure, what they delighted in most, the shelter of trees; but, however, not the shelter of those trees in which they most delighted; and therefore these they introduced. No history tells us this; but we learn it from more certain authority, great woods of fir having been discovered interred in the bowels of the earth, and here and there small groves of oaks (*l*); but as these trees are never met with intermixed, so it is plain they never grew together; and as the former are by far the most numerous, we may presume them the natural produce of the country, and that the latter were planted and preserved by the druids. They gave the people, with whom they lived, and over whom they ruled, a gentle government, wise laws, but with these a very super-

(*f*) Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Anglor. lib. ii. cap. 5. et 9. It is remarkable that there is no mention made of Man in the Saxon Chronicle.—(*g*) Hist. Britan. cap. 2. which name however has been extended to all the isles which composed this kingdom.—(*h*) Baxteri Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, p. 175. 176.—(*i*) Political Survey of Great-Britain, chap. viii. sect. 1. p. 490.—(*k*) Hist. Boeth. Hist. Scot. fol. 22. b. Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 3. James Earl of Derby's Account of the Island of Man, addressed to his son, preserved by the reverend Mr. Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. book xi. No. xii.—(*l*) *Camdeni Britannia*, p. 839. Chaloner's Account of the Isle of Man, p. 2. Houghton's Collections for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, vol. iii. No. 476. An Account of the Isle of Man, by William Sacheverel, Esq; Governor of that island, p. 9, 10. Bishop Wilson's Account of that island, published by the late Bishop of London, in his last edition of the *Britannia*.

stitious religion (*m*). It is also very likely that they hindered them, as much as they could, from having any correspondence with their neighbours, which is the reason, that though the island is mentioned by so many writers, not one of them, before Orosius, says so much as a word about the inhabitants. A little before his time, that is, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Scots had transported themselves thither from Ireland. The tradition of the natives of Man, for they have a traditional history, begins at this period (*n*). They stile this first discoverer, Mannan Mac Lear; and they say that he was a magician, who kept this country covered with mists, so that the inhabitants of other places could never find it. But the ancient chronicles of Ireland explain this matter much better; they inform us, that the true name of this adventurer was Orbienus, the son of Alladius, a prince in their island, and that he was surnamed Mannanan, from his having first entered the island of Man, and Mac Lir, that is, the offspring of the sea, from his great skill in navigation. He promoted commerce, and is said to have given a good reception to St. Patrick, by whom the natives were converted to christianity.

THE princes who ruled after him seem to have been of the same line with the Kings of Scotland, with which country they had a great intercourse, assisting its monarchs in their wars, and having the education of their princes confided to them in time of peace (*p*); whence it appears, that the inhabitants of Man had, in this period, the reputation of being learned, as well as civilized, in an extraordinary degree (*q*). In the beginning of the seventh century, Edwin, King of Northumberland, invaded the Menavian Islands, ravaged Man, and kept it for some time, when, Beda assures us, there were in it about three hundred families, which was less than a third part of the people in Anglesey, though Man wants but a third of the size of that island (*r*). The times succeeding these were very troublesome, inasmuch that, if it were not for that tradition already mentioned, we should know hardly any thing of the most considerable princes that ever ruled therein, and of

(*n*) The whole system of the laws of this nation, passed from generation to generation by tradition, without being committed to writing, till the beginning of the fifteenth century.—(*o*) As their laws have been so well kept, and as there is little or no variation in their accounts of their kings, it gives a degree of credit to their unwritten history.—(*p*) Rod. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, P. iii. cap. vi. p. 179. He was slain, as the Irish Chronicles say, at Mogeullin, in the County of Galway.—(*q*) *Johannis de Fordun Scoti-chronicon*, lib. iii. cap. 28. *Hist. Boeth. Hist. Scot.* lib. ix. G. Buchanan *rerum Scotic.* lib. v.—(*r*) According to the whole tenor of the Saxon, Scots, and Irish writers, Man, and the adjacent isles, were famous at this period for many wise and virtuous prelates.—(*r*) *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. 9. If this be understood of hide-lands (as the Saxon translation takes it) then it implies there were forty eight thousand acres of profitable land in this island.

which, after all, their's is but an imperfect account; yet, such as it is, it helps us to various circumstances that certainly deserve our notice.

THE second line of their princes they derive from Orri, who, they say, was the son of the king of Norway, and that there were twelve princes of this house who governed Man(1). The old constitution, settled by the Druids, while they swayed the sceptre, was perfectly restored, the country was well cultivated, and well peopled, their subjects were equally versed in the exercise of arms and in the knowledge of the arts of peace(2); in a word, they had a considerable naval force, an extensive commerce, and were a great nation, though inhabiting only a little isle. Guttred, the son of Orri, built the Castle of Ruffyn, A. D. 960, which is a strong place, a large palace, and has subsisted now for eight hundred years(3). The founder lies beneath a small tomb in the chapel, after having erected this noble structure as a monument of himself, and of the veracity of that tradition which preserves his memory, since the size and ornaments of this vast pile incontestibly prove, that it must have been the work of one who had the skill and labour of multitudes at his command, and who, for the construction of this edifice, spared not for expence(4). Macao was the ninth of these kings, and, with respect to him, the history of our Saxon ancestors bears ample testimony(5). He maintained an unsuccessful struggle against Edgar, who reduced all the little sovereigns of the different parts of Britain to own him for their lord, and who, upon the submission of Macao, made him his high admiral, by which title (*Archipirata*, in the latin of those times)(6), he subscribes that monarch's charter to the abbey of Glastonbury(7). It is true we cannot insist upon this as absolutely certain, or as a fact established incontestibly; but then the circumstances that follow will render it highly probable.

AFTER the death of Edward the Confessor, when Harold, who possessed the crown of England, had defeated the Nor-

(1) This agrees very well with the Danish and Norwegian Histories, and is not contradicted by any other; so that it may be true, in the most important points at least.—(2) In regard to this, we find the tradition confirmed by matters of fact, since all the great buildings almost were constructed within this period.—(3) This rests upon the tradition of the Manks-men; but as the chronicle of the Monks, which commences but a century lower, and who dwell here, says nothing in contradiction to this received opinion, there seems no room to question the fact.—(4) It is built of an extreme hard stone, exceedingly difficult to polish; and yet Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Sacheverel, and Mr. Waldron, who had all carefully examined it, agree that it is a strong, spacious, and, according to the notions of those times, a splendid edifice.—(5) A. D. 973 Chron. Marian. Scot. Polychronicon Ranulph. Higgen. Chronica de Mailros, where he is called *Maccus*.—(6) Gulielm. Malmesburienfis de Gestis Regum Anglor. lib. ii. cap. 8. Spelmanni. Glossarium, p. 466.—(7) Johann's Glastonienfis de rebus Glaston. p. 37. Gulielm. Malmesbur. de Antiq. Eccles. Glaston. p. 82. Monast. Anglican. tom. i. p. 17. In every one of these we have the charter, wherein his name is written *Maccusius*.

wegians at the battle of Stamford, there was amongst the fugitives one Goddard Crownan, the son of Harold the Black, of Iceland, who took shelter in the Isle of Man (*a*). This isle was then governed by another Goddard, who was a descendant from Macao, and he gave him a very kind and friendly reception. Goddard Crownan, during the short stay he made in the island, perceived that his name-sake was universally hated by his subjects, which inspired him with hopes, that, if he could bring a competent force to support the attempt, he might, without difficulty, excite a general revolt in his favour. Full of these thoughts he returned home, and having collected a strength sufficient for his purpose he returned; but found his hopes frustrated; for Goddard being dead, his son Fingall was seated upon the throne, and generally beloved. He debarked his men however; but his forces being defeated in a general engagement, he was obliged to retire. In a second expedition joining fraud to force, he was more fortunate; for landing three hundred men in the night, whom he caused to take post in a wood (*b*), he went on shore with all the rest the next day, and, having drawn the islanders into a disadvantageous situation, so that they had the sea at their backs, his army in front, and his ambuscade on their flank, he, with great fury, attacked them; but they defended themselves gallantly till the tide came in, when those posted in the wood falling upon and cutting off their retreat, they were forced, after great loss, and their king slain, to submit. Upon this he assigned them the north part of the island (*c*), and gave the south to his own people, becoming, in virtue of his conquest, the founder of their third race of princes (*d*). However he might acquire his kingdom, he governed it with spirit and prudence, made war with success in Ireland, gained several victories over the Scots in the isles, and making a tour through his new obtained dominions, deceased in the island of Ilay (*e*). He left behind him three sons. A civil war breaking out between the two eldest, and both of them deceasing in a few years, Magnus, King of Norway, coming with a powerful fleet, possessed himself of Man and the Isles, and held them as long as he lived (*f*); but, being slain in Ireland, the people invited home Olave, the youngest son of Goddard Crownan, who had fled to the court of England, and been very honourably treated by Henry the Second (*g*).

(*a*) *Chronicon Regum Manniæ* apud Camdeni Britan. p. 480.—(*b*) It is remarkable that this wood was on the north-east side of the island, near Ramsey, where there are few or no trees at this day.—(*c*) From this time they were considered as a conquered people, and held not their lands by inheritance (as in times past) but at the will of the king.—(*d*) This third race introduced the present arms, alluding probably to their dependance upon England, Scotland, and Norway.—(*e*) *Chronicon Regum Manniæ*; but the Scots have a tradition, that he was buried in the famous church of Il-Columb-Kill.—(*f*) *Aluredi Beverlacentis Annal.* lib. ix. p. 71. *Johannis de Fordun Scoti-chronicon*, lib. v. cap. 24. 26. *Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia* ap. x. script. col. 223.—(*g*) He was a gentle wife, and peaceable prince, governed long, founded the famous Abby of Rushmore, and made a voyage to Norway to prevent new disputes.

There were in the whole nine princes of this race, who were all of them feudatories to the kings of England; and, as our records shew, often resorted to their court, were very kindly received, and had pensions bestowed upon them (*b*). Henry the third, in particular, charged Olava, King of Man, with the defence of the coasts of England and Ireland (*i*), and granted him annually for that service forty marks, one hundred measures of wheat, and five pieces of wine. Upon the demise of Magnus, the last king of this isle, without heirs male, Alexander the Third King of Scots, who had conquered the other isles, seized likewise upon this (*k*), which as parcel of that kingdom, came into the hands of Edward the First, who directed William Huntercumbe, guardian or warden of that isle for him, to restore it to John Baliol, who had done homage to him for the kingdom of Scotland (*l*).

BUT it seems there was still remaining a lady, Aufrica, who claimed this sovereignty, as cousin and nearest of kin to the deceased Magnus. This claimant being able to obtain nothing from John Baliol, applied herself next to King Edward, as the superior lord. He, upon this application, by his writ, which is yet extant, commanded both parties, in order to determine their right, to appear in the King's-bench (*m*). The progress of this suit does not appear; but we know farther, that this lady, by a deed of gift, conveyed her claim to Sir Simon de Montacute (*n*); and, after many disputes, invasions by the Scots, and other accidents, which it is not my business to mention (*o*), the title was examined in parliament, in the Seventh of Edward the Third, and solemnly adjudged to William de Montacute, to whom, by letters patents, dated the same year, that monarch released all claim whatsoever (*p*).

IN the succeeding reign, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, sold it to Sir William Scroop, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire (*q*); and, upon his losing his head, it was granted by Henry the Fourth to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who, being attainted, had, by the grace of that king, all his

(*b*) Mat. Paris Hist. Angl. tom. i. p. 706. 923. Rymeri Fœdera, tom. i. p. 127. 140. 224. 234. 303. Rot. Pat. 2. Henr. iii. p. 1. n. 9.—(*i*) Pat. 19. Henr. iii. m. 5.—(*k*) Johannis de Fordun Scoti-chronicon. vol. iii. p. 468. 471. Hest. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xiii. fol. 287. Iesselæ de rebus gestis Scot. lib. vi. p. 231. (*l*) Rymeri Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 492. 602. Rot. Scot. 21. Edw. i. m. 5.—(*m*) Rot. Scot. 21. Edw. i. m. 4. This writ is directed to the sheriff of Northumberland, who is commanded to deliver it to the king, before witnes, and to make a proper return.—(*n*) This instrument bears date on the eve of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, A. D. 1305. xxxiii. Edw. i. and is preserved in Dodesworth's Collections, vol. xxx. p. 114.—(*o*) If I could have spared room, I should have used my best endeavours, to have authenticated the rest of this history down to these times.—(*p*) Rymeri Fœdera, tom. iii. p. 558. Fin. 7. Edw. iii. m. 11. Pat. 7. Edw. iii. p. 2. m. 22.—(*q*) Thomæ Otterbourne Chron. Regum Angliæ, p. 182.

lands restored, except the Isle of Man (*r*), which the same monarch granted to Sir John Stanley, to be held by him, of the kings his heirs and successors, by homage, and a cast of falcons to be presented at every coronation (*s*). Thus it was possessed by this noble family, who were created Earls of Derby, till the reign of Queen Elizabeth; when, upon the demise of Earl Ferdinand, who left three daughters, it was, as Lord Coke tells us (*t*), adjudged to those ladies, and from them purchased by William Earl of Derby, the brother of Ferdinand, from whom it was claimed by descent, and adjudged to its present possessor, his Grace the Duke of Athol (*u*).

THIS succinct historical deduction is not so much intended to shew through what hands this country has passed (for to do that accurately would require, and indeed deserves, a volume (*w*), but to prove authentically, that this island, many hundred years past, was well wooded, exceedingly plentiful, very populous, adorned with stately castles and other public edifices (*x*); and its princes powerful, and respected even by their most potent neighbours, chiefly on account of their strength by sea (*y*). This we conceive to be a proper introduction to all that follows; since the fullest description, and the strongest arguments that could be drawn from thence, could never so clearly convince the reader as the bare recital of matters of fact, thus supported by history and records, or induce him to believe that this island

(*r*) Pat. 1. Hen. iv. p. 5. m. 36. Thom. Walsingham Hist. Ang. p. 369. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 1. chap. iii. p. 25.—(*s*) Pat. 7. Henr. iv. p. 2. m. 18.—(*t*) Fourth institute, cap. lxix. p. 283.—(*u*) His Grace is great grandson to the loyal James Earl of Derby by his third daughter, Lady Amelia Sophia.—(*w*) The Description; natural, ecclesiastical, civil, and naval History of MAN, for which even this sketch will shew materials are not wanting, would be a very curious, entertaining, and useful work, and would be of no small service to the inhabitants. Our laborious antiquary, Browne Willis, History of Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 370, censures Sacheverell, for saying, this island was mortgaged to Anthony Beak, Bishop of Durham. Yet Bishop Godwin, see Dr. Richardson's splendid and accurate edition of his book, de Præfultibus, p. 743, says, this turbulent prelate, having obtained from the king, either by prayers or price, the principality of Man, held it all his life. But, to put the fact of his being in possession out of doubt, consult the record, Rot. Claus. 31. Edw. i. m. 4. d. Scire Facias to Anthony, Bishop of Durham, to shew cause, why he should not render the issue.—(*x*) Pat. 1. Hen. iv. p. 5. m. 36. The king grants to the Earl of Northumberland, Insulam, Castrum, Pelam, et Dominium de Man, ac omnia Insule et Dominiæ, eidem Insule de Man pertinentia. It is very remarkable, that the king founds his own right in this patent on conquest, and also affirms that right, founded, to have been owned and confirmed by parliament.—(*y*) In order to give some distinct idea of the naval power of these princes, let us remark, that, in the eleventh century, Goddard Crownan made great conquests in Ireland, was too hard for the Scots at sea, and forced them to submit to a peace on dishonourable terms. In the beginning of the thirteenth (A.D.) 1205) Reginald, king of Man, sailed to Ireland, with John de Courcy, who married his sister, with a fleet of one hundred sail. A.D. 1265, Magnus, the last of the third race of the kings of Man, died, and then the islanders submitted to Alexander iii. king of Scots, and, under him, when required, to assist him with ten vessels, manned with five hundred mariners, which were stout ships for those times.

may possibly be rendered rich, flourishing, and well peopled again, as the having shewn, beyond the possibility of dispute, that so it once was. For I presume nothing can be either more evident or certain, than that it would be both ridiculous and absurd to suppose, that, eight hundred or a thousand years past, when learning ran so low, when arts and sciences were sunk to such a degree, and when the little knowledge there was lay hid in cells and cloisters, a King of Man, in the midst of tumults and revolutions, when invasions were avowedly made for the sake of plunder, and princes themselves did not disdain the occupation of pirates, should erect piles, that have not only resisted accidents but time, and remain in our days testimonies of his wealth and grandeur; and that we, with all the superiority that enlightened experience has produced, with power, and riches, and liberty on our side, are unable to exceed the copy set us in such barbarous times (z), or to restore this island, by attention and encouragement, to the possession of those bounties which Providence bestowed, and which, duly cultivated, will be always sources of interior happiness and outward splendor.

THIS island, from its situation directly in the chops of the channel, is very beneficial to Great Britain, by lessening the force of the tides, which would otherwise break upon their coasts with far greater violence than they do at present (a). In reference to its own advantage, this position is likewise exceedingly commodious, as from thence it becomes the center of the British Isles, lying seven leagues north from Anglesey, about the same distance west from Lancashire, nearly the like south-east from Galloway, and nine leagues east from Ireland, so that we cannot conceive a place more happily seated for trade to all these parts, or better disposed for more extensive commerce, especially to Spain and the Mediterranean, to the south; and northwards again to all parts of America (b). With regard to form, it is long and narrow, stretching from the north-east point of Air to the Calf of Man, which lies south-west, at least thirty English miles. In breadth, from Peel Castle to Douglas Point, better than nine miles (c); in most places eight, in some not above five; between seventy

(z) The ancient manor houses are spacious, strong, and argue those by whom they were built to have some turn to elegance, and that, to gratify this, they intended, and could afford to be at some expence; whereas, till within these twenty years, the modern buildings were poor, wretched, ill-contrived hovels, of which the Lancashire people said truly they looked like causeways set up an end—(a) Short treatise of the Isle of Man, by James Chaloner, Esq; one of the commissioners for Thomas Lord Fairfax, to whom the island was given by the parliament, after they had beheaded James the loyal Earl of Derby, chap. i. Drayton's Polyolbion, song xxvii. Account of the Isle of Man, by its late excellent bishop Dr. Wilson, inserted by Bishop Gibson, in the last edition of the English History.—(b) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 37. Sacheverell's Survey of the Isle of Man, p. 2. Additions to the English Translation of Camden's Britannia.—(c) Camden, by some mistake, makes it fifteen miles broad, and, being inadvertently approved by bishop Wilson, this has misled many other writers.

and eighty in extent, and comprehending about one hundred and sixty square miles (*d*). But to give the reader a clearer idea, it may not be amiss to observe, that it is larger than the Dutchy of Mirandol in Italy; equal to the Isle of Wight; surpassing in its size, by a third, Guernsey, Jersey, and all the adjacent isles; superior to any of the Leeward Islands; very little inferior to Gaudaloupe, and twice as big as St. Helena (*e*).

THE air is sharp, as may be expected from the northern situation, much more from the openness of the country; but their winters are not severe; frosts happen seldom, and are of no great continuance; neither does snow lie long upon the ground. But they are frequently exposed to high winds, and at other seasons, to mists, which, though they may be a little offensive, are not at all unwholesome (*f*). The soil towards the north is dry and sandy, consequently unfertile, but not unimproveable; the mountains, which may include near two thirds of the island, are bleak and barren, yet not either worthless or useless; for they afford, as we shall hereafter see, excellent peat, contain in their bowels several kinds of metals, and maintain a peculiar breed of small swine, called PURRS (*g*), which are esteemed excellent pork. In the vallies there is as good pasture, hay, and corn, as in any of the northern counties; and as for the southern part of the isle, it is as fine ground as can be wished (*h*). Some of their mountains are remarkably high, such as the two Barrowls, Skeyall, and the Watch-hill of Knockalow, but, above all, Scaefel, Sneafield, or Snawfeldt, from the summit of which, the coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, may be plainly discerned. Few countries can boast of more brooks and rivulets, over several of which there are stone bridges, or of better water; and from hence, also, they derive the conveniency of mills for grinding their corn (*i*), and for the use of the woollen manufacture.

THE produce of the island furnishes all the necessaries, and, with due attention and application, might supply all the conveniencies of life. They have the best sort of peat in abundance, which supplies the want of coals (*k*). They have man-

(*d*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 91. Chaloner's Treatise of the life of Man, chap. i. Sacheverell's Survey of Man, p. 1.—(*e*) Templeman's Survey of the Globe. Pl. v. ix. xxviii. xxix.—(*f*) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 37. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 173. Additions to the English edition of Camden's Britannia.—(*g*) By the laws of this country, on the conviction of a felon, all his swine are forfeited to the King, and all his goats to the Queen of Man.—(*h*) Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 91. Chaloner's Treatise of the life of Man, chap. i. Sacheverell's short Survey of Man, p. 3.—(*i*) They have, upon every their smallest brooks, horizontal mills of a peculiar construction, so as to turn with a very inconsiderable stream of water.—(*k*) Drayton's Polyolbion, song xxvii. Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 173. Additions to the English Britannia. This peat, of a bituminous nature, makes a strong fire, is very lasting, and smells sweet.

and limestone sufficient to render even their poorest lands fertile; admirable slate, rag-stone, black marble, and some other kinds for building (*l*). Lead, iron, and copper, which might turn to great account (*m*). Vegetables they have of all sorts, and in the utmost perfection. Potatoes in immense quantities; and, where proper pains have been taken, they have tolerable fruit: to which we may add some hemp and flax. Large crops of oats, and the like also of barley, which makes good malt, and some wheat (*n*). Hogs, sheep, goats, black cattle, and horses, they have in plenty; and though small in size (*o*), yet with due care, and, if the country were thoroughly and skilfully cultivated, they might improve the breed of all these animals, as experience has shewn. Rabbits and hares, which are singularly fat and fine; tame and wild fowl in plenty (*p*); and in their high mountains they have one of eagles; and two airies of excellent hawks (*q*). Their rivulets furnish them with salmon, trout, eels, and other kind of fresh water fish; on their coasts are caught cod, turbot, ling, halibut, all sorts of shell-fish, oysters excepted, which are scarce, but large and good, and herrings, of which they made anciently a great profit, though this fishery is of late much declined (*r*).

THE commodities of Man are not many in number, and few, or none, of any great value. Their slates are esteemed not inferior to any; their black marble is very hard, and bears a fine polish; and, occasionally, they export some of each, as they formerly did a little grain, and a considerable quantity of ale; but of late years both have been found hardly equal to their home consumption (*s*). The rest are lambs wool, hides, tallow, fish oil, wax, and honey. They are allowed, by act of parliament, to send over six hundred head of black cattle

(*l*) Amongst others, a red freestone near Balladoully at the sea side, which is hard to work, but which seems scarce liable to any decay.—(*m*) Chaloner's Treatise of the Isle of Man, chap. 1. Woodward's Natural History of Fossils, p. 85, 106. Dr. Wilson's Description of Man.—(*n*) Bishop Merick, who died A. D. 1599, wrote to Mr. Camden, that, for corn, cattle, and fish, they had not only sufficient for their own consumption, but also exported great quantities, though the country was then on the decline.—(*o*) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 38, where we are told their sheep were of a huge size, with prodigious large tails; and that their hogs were monstrous; but these animals, and no doubt the cattle and horses, through the poverty of the inhabitants, have been dwindling for the space of two hundred years.—(*p*) The two last Earls of Derby introduced deer and partridges; and in the Calf of Man, a little island, three miles in extent, they have prodigious quantities of puffins, which, when pickled, are esteemed great rarities.—(*q*) Sacheverell's short Survey of Man, p. 5. Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.—(*r*) As all fisheries are precarious, so possibly this, having now failed for many years, may again become (which is no unusual thing) as prosperous as ever.—(*s*) They make their bread chiefly of oats; they have but little wheat; and the great resort of strangers, since smuggling was introduced, prevents their having more than a running stock of ale.

to the port of Chester (*t*). In respect to manufactures, they have both woollen and linen, which, however, turn but to very small account. With regard to the former, they make a kind of cloth of a buff colour, without dying, of what is called Laughton wool, from a particular breed of sheep, of which they take little care, otherwise they might have much more of it (*u*). In reference to the latter, both fine and coarse linens are woven here, but in no great quantities (*w*). In former times they depended chiefly upon their herring fishery, and are said to have exported annually twenty thousand barrels of these fish to France (*x*).

THE town of Douglas, anciently and better written Dufglas (*y*), on the east side of the isle, is the largest, richest, and most frequented place in Man. It has a good port secured by a mole, where ships of considerable burthen may lie safe; and, of late years, there have been great improvements made, and many cellars, warehouses, and other conveniencies, for the reception of goods; but the streets are still narrow, and in that respect troublesome (*z*). Ramsfay, now called Derby Haven, covered by a fort built in St. Michael's Island, is convenient enough for small vessels, and without there is a good road, where larger ships may ride safe from north or west winds, in ten, twelve, or fourteen fathom water (*a*). About a mile from hence stands Castletown, so called from Castle Russlyn, which is accounted the capital of the isle, because the governor and most of the lords officers reside there (*b*). It has also a creek, which serves as a port for small vessels, and a bay without that, but foul and unsafe (*c*). Peel, or Holm, on the west side of the island, was formerly remarkable only for its cathedral, and castle on a rock, which is very strong, and in which there is a small garrison, but now the

(*t*) Stat. 15 Car. ii. cap. 7. § 21. 18. cap. ii. § 1. 3. 20. cap. 7. § 9. 22. cap. 2. § 8. 5 & 6 W. et M. cap. 2. § 4. 5. Ann. cap. 8. art. 6.—(*u*) The natives pretend there is great Incertainty in regard to these sheep; but some curious in this respect have found it would be very practicable to have entire flocks of this breed, and, with some industry and care, the working of this singular wool in stockings, breeches, caps, &c. as well as cloth, might be made a very profitable manufacture.—(*w*) A gentleman who resided long in this island was of opinion, that as fine thread and as good lace, might be made here as in any part of Europe.—(*x*) Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.—(*y*) The etymology of this name is evident enough; for the river upon which the town stands, and which empties itself into the port, is composed of two smaller streams, one remarkably dark, and the other white, which is expressed in the two monosyllables Duf and Glas, and these combined shew the river, which has the same appellation as the town.—(*z*) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 38. Speed's Theatre of the British Empire, fol. 91. Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.—(*a*) Sacheverell's short Survey of Man, p. 9. Additions to the English Translation of the Britannia. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 18.—(*b*) Chaloner's Treatise of the Isle of Man, cap. vi. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 18. Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.—(*c*) Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 18. but assuredly this might with some expence be rendered both deeper and safer.

place is much enlarged, many new houses built, and has a brisk stirring trade (*d*). Ramſea, on the north-east ſide of the iſland, on a very ſpacious bay, where the largeſt ſhips may ride ſafe from moſt winds, and not liable to be embayed by any (*e*). It is generally a high land upon the ſea coaſts, defended by rocks lying out as far as low water mark. On the north-east ſhore it is a bold coaſt and beech.

THE title of King of Man was firſt waved by Thomas Earl of Derby, in the reign of Edward the Fourth; and his ſucceſſors, following his example, have ſtilled themſelves, ever ſince, Lords of Man and the Iſles (*f*); but without any diminution of authority; and in the act of parliament, by which the poſſeſſion and ſucceſſion in that family was ſettled, the JURA REGALIA were expreſſly mentioned and confirmed (*g*). The lord is repreſented by his governor, who reſides at Caſtle-town, where he has a handſome houſe, and a competent ſalary (*h*). He preſides in the court of chancery, which is held every month (*i*); appeals are made to him from the courts of common law, from him to the lord, and from the lord to his majeſty in council. The governor is ſworn to execute his office as uprightly as he bears the white ſtaff, which is the mark of his dignity, in his hand (*k*). The judges in civil and criminal affairs, are two perſons called Deemſters, choſen for their great ſagacity and perfect knowledge of the ancient cuſtoms of the country. In former times they had no written laws, but all depended upon tradition, according to the ſettled maxim of the druids, and therefore they were ſtilled BREAST LAWS, and their judges received their title from the manner in which they executed their office, ſince whatever they DEEMED to be

(*d*) It is called Holm by the Danes and Norwegians; the cathedral, dedicated to St. German, their firſt biſhop, and a church dedicated to St. Patrick, by whom the inhabitants were converted to chriſtianity, are both in a ruinous condition, yet not without ſome remains of ancient grandeur, which do honour to the piety, and ſhew the taſte of the ages in which they were built.—(*e*) Between this place and Dalalough there was a bog, or, as the natives ſtile it, Currah, ſix miles long, and three broad, in which were found great quantities of fir trees, ſome ten, ſome twelve, ſome twenty feet below the ſurface, and was looked upon as the moſt worthleſs ground in the iſle. But, within theſe fifty years, this marſh has been drained, and a great part of it is now the moſt profitable land in Man.—(*f*) This noble perſon was Lord Stanley, at the time he declined the title of king, and was raiſed to the earldom of Derby by his ſon-in-law Henry VII. upon whoſe head this Thomas Lord Stanley ſet the crown in Boſworth Field.—(*g*) The chief of theſe prerogatives are, 1. The giving their aſſent to new laws. 2. The naming the biſhop, who is, however, approved by the king. 3. Appointing all officers, civil and military, and changing or diſcharging them at pleaſure. 4. Pardoning offences, or mitigating the puniſhment. 5. Enjoying all forfeitures that enſue on treaſon, felony, ſelo de ſe, &c.—(*h*) Theſe officers were formerly ſtilled captains, and their duties had the title of lieutenants, but of late years they have been commonly called governors.—(*i*) He is not obliged to call any, but, if he pleaſes, he may take the deemſters or the keys to his aſſiſtance, in caſe of any great difficulty.—(*k*) Agreeable to the ſymbolical philoſophy of the druids, that this mark of the magiſtrate's dignity may be a conſtant memorial to him of his duty.

law,

law, was law (*l*). The oath they take is to do justice between party and party, equally as the herring-bone lies between the two sides (*m*). In cases of greater difficulty, they called to their assistance twenty-four ancient and grave men, who declared their sentiments as to the known customs, or, which is the same thing, the laws of the isle (*n*). From their unlocking these difficulties, and upon the old supposition of retaining in their breasts the jurisprudence of this country, they are stiled the KEYS (*o*). When one of these dies, resigns on account of age or infirmities, or is removed for any misdemeanor, the rest present two persons to the governor, out of which he chuses one, who is immediately sworn into the office (*p*). Those who compose their judicature, compose likewise their legislature, or their great court of TINGWALD, in which are present the governor, his council, the two deemsters, and the twenty-four keys (*q*). This assembly or parliament is held in the middle of the isle, upon a hill, in the open air; and here all laws, having received the concurrence of that assembly, and being assented to by the lord, are published, and from thence derive their force (*r*).

As the civil, so the ecclesiastical government, is very regular and strict. The bishop is appointed by the lord, and approved by the king; and, though no peer, acknowledges by statute the Archbishop of York for his Primate, and, with the clergy of his diocese, is summoned to the convocation of that province (*s*). He has a competent revenue, and a good house, with a convenient chapel in the parish of Kirk Michael, with large gardens and pleasant walks, shaded with fruit and forest

(*l*) These unwritten laws subsisted till the grant to Sir John Stanley, who came over to the isle in person, settled the constitution, and introduced records.—(*m*) This is another symbolical institution, by which the judge is continually put in mind of his duty by his daily diet.—(*n*) These, as Mr. Sacheverell informs us, are called in the Marks language Taxiaxi; but what this signifies, he does not intimate; but it seems in sound to resemble Teagasag, which, in old Irish, implies druidism; and from thence one may conclude, it means elders or senators. As every man who is qualified for this office, may attain it, this was an admirable method to recommend the study of the laws and constitution to every intelligent member of society. (*o*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 839. Chaloner's treatise of the Isle of Man, chap. iv. Coke's Fourth Institute, chap. lx x. Sacheverell's Short Survey of Man, p. 88. 95. Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.—(*p*) It is, however, provided by a fundamental law, that no servant of the lord, in any capacity, shall be chosen into or hold this office.—(*q*) This word Tingwald, seems equivalent to the Saxon holling, and is held twice a year, about May and Michaelmas, when it answers three purposes. 1 A court leet or baron, settling all matters between the lord and his tenants. 2 A general assize, wherein all suits respecting property are adjudged. 3. A general court of gaol delivery, in which all criminal prosecutions are determined.—(*r*) Thus every affair respecting the public is openly transacted in the view of the people, yet with profound silence, and all possible decorum.—(*s*) Camdeni Britannia, p. 839. Coke's Fourth Institute, chap. lxix. Sacheverell's Short Survey of the Isle of Man, p. 104. 121. Willis's History of Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 369. 386. Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.

trees;

trees, which shews what may be done on this soil, and under this climate (*t*). He can from hence visit any part of his diocese, and return home the same day. There is likewise an archdeacon, and seventeen parishes; of these there are two parsonages, which are worth about sixty pounds a year each; the rest are vicarages, of about twenty or twenty-five pounds. (*u*). Besides these, the bishop has two vicars general, and the archdeacon his official (*w*). They have likewise some public schools, in which persons are bred up in such learning as fits them for the ministry (*x*). But the design which one of the Earls of Derby formed, of establishing an university here, never took place (*y*).

IN conformity to this regular and rational constitution, the island is divided into seventeen parishes, every one of these having its church and minister. In respect to civil affairs, it is again separated into six shreadings, each of which has its coroner, or, as they stile him, Anno (*z*), an officer equivalent to our sheriff; and these attend the Tingwald, not in a legislative, but in a ministerial capacity (*a*). The lord has also in every parish, his moor, moar, or bailiff, chosen annually, and who is answerable for the lord's rents; and also a captain who commands the militia, which consists of about seventeen hundred or two thousand men, besides the soldiers in the several garrisons and block-houses, who are in the lord's pay, and commanded by officers of his appointing (*b*).

THE inhabitants of MAN, though far from being unmixed, were, perhaps, till within the course of the current century, more so than any other, under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain; to which, though they are subjects, and are very proud of being subjects, as well as the people of Jersey

(*t*) So says the late worthy and pious prelate Dr. Thomas Wilson, from his own knowledge and experience, which is fully sufficient to settle the certainty of the fact.—(*u*) Upon these small incomes, the clergy in this island, by great parsimony, breed up their families, and from a conscientious discharge of their duty, are universally respected.—(*w*) Ecclesiastical discipline is very strict in this island; the bishop has his prison, his courts, and a regular jurisdiction, to which the people submit without reluctance.—(*x*) These schools were chiefly owing to the prudence, as the provision for the poorer clergy is to the charity, of Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishop and Governor of Man, from anno dom. 1663, to anno dom. 1669.—(*y*) James, Earl of Derby, mentions this as a design of his own, in his discourse to his son, and had it been executed, would, no doubt, have been very advantageous to the island.—(*z*) These shreadings are equivalent to hundreds, and it is by appropriating proper officers to these divisions, that justice pervades every corner of this country.—(*a*) At the court of Tingwald, the coroner of Glanfals, who has presidency before the rest, has orders to fence the court, that is, to prevent any noise, clamour, or disturbance, which, in conjunction with his brethren, he executes with the utmost punctuality, as indeed every thing else is, that respects law or government in this island.—(*b*) Chaloner's Treatise of the Isle of Man, chap. vi. Sacheverell's Short Survey of Man, p. 82, 83. Bishop Wilson's Description of Man.

and Guernsey, yet like them they have a constitution, laws, and language of their own, and a peculiarity of manners, naturally resulting from the long enjoyment of these (c). In ancient times, they were distinguished by their stature, courage, and great skill in maritime affairs; for in those days they had a considerable foreign commerce, and a fleet which would have appeared insignificant indeed in our times, but was very respectable then, in comparison of the naval force of neighbouring nations. They are at this day a brisk, lively, hardy, industrious, and well-meaning people (d). Their frugality defends them from want; and though there are few that abound, there are as few in distress, and those that are, meet with a chearful unconstrained relief. On the other hand they are choleric, loquacious, and as law is cheap and unincumbered, at least till of late years, with attornies and sollicitors, not a little litigious (e). A tolerable education, a strict civil government, a more strict church discipline, ripens good habits into virtues, and restrains their vices within due bounds. As to the revenue arising to the Lord of Man, it was looked upon as certain, in the late Earl of Derby's time, that his settled standing rents, his casualties, and his customs upon the goods requisite for the use of the natives, might amount to two thousand five hundred pounds a year, from whence deducting his civil list, which rose to about seven hundred, there remained one thousand eight hundred pounds per annum clear (f). At the same time the number of his subjects was computed at twenty thousand (g).

THERE is no doubt, that in ancient times the inhabitants of this island must have possessed a very extensive commerce, otherwise they could not have had either arts, wealth, or a potent fleet; and there is as little room to doubt, that as these advantages were acquired by, so they gradually decayed with the loss of their commerce, which brought the people into a state of abject poverty (h). James, Earl of Derby being himself in the island, considering its situation, and contemplating its other natural advantages, was so sensible of this, and so

(c) The Manks tongue is spoken, and is the only tongue spoken by the common people, who are natives. It is the old British, mingled with Norie, or the Norwegian language, and the modern Irish. The clergy preach and read the Common Prayer in it; however a short catechism, carefully taught in the schools, is the only printed book they have.—(d) See the E. of Derby's, Chaloner's, Sacheverel's, and Bp. Wilson's character of the Manksmen.—(e) Earl of Derby's Account of the Isle of Man. Additions to the English translation of Camden's Britannia.—(f) So stated in many petitions and representations to the treasury, the truth of which has, so far as I know, never been contradicted or controverted.—(g) According to an accurate account, taken thirty years ago, they were fifteen thousand, and their numbers are much augmented since.—(h) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 37. One may collect from him, that those who had acquired wealth by commerce, quitting merchandize to engross and monopolize land, expelled many, and impoverished the remainder of the inhabitants.

much affected by it, that he assured his son, he would rather mortgage or sell some of his lands in England, than not execute the schemes he had formed, for introducing trade again into Man (*i*). He wisely foresaw, that this would be equally beneficial to his subjects and his family; that it would excite the people to improve their lands, encourage the setting up of manufactures, and quicken every species of industry amongst them. But the disorders of the times, for this was at the beginning of the civil war, defeated his good intentions; neither does it appear that they were resumed, or at least resumed to any purpose, by his successors.

It is not above half a century ago, that the fatal practice of smuggling was brought in, which has been making a very rapid progress ever since, and as every where else, so in this island, has been attended with a numerous train of the most mischievous consequences (*k*). It was first introduced by foreign vessels landing their cargoes here, in order to elude the wise laws made for the benefit of British commerce, and by this means immense sums have been drained from these kingdoms. The goods thus landed, are, from the convenient position of the isle, exported again in prodigious quantities, in barks and boats, into Wales, England, and Scotland, to the almost incomputable detriment of the revenue of the crown, and to the extreme prejudice also of the fair trader (*l*). These practices have been still more noxious to Ireland than to Britain; and by opening a free passage to all kind of East India goods brought by foreign companies, into both islands, has been exceedingly injurious to our own company, established to trade exclusively in those parts (*m*).

BUT independent of all these injuries to their fellow subjects, it seems also to be in a fair way of becoming destructive to this island, by corrupting the manners of the inhabitants, divesting them of all thoughts of honest improvement, and not only depriving them of the protection, but exposing them to the just resentment of the British legislature (*n*). It is very

(*i*) Lord Fairfax's commissioners, a very few years after this, found the island and the people in a miserable condition, so that Mr. Chaloner at the close of his book, having given an account of their forts and garrisons, ends with saying, "the poverty of this island is its greatest security." Thus this history shews us plainly, what an island may be with, and what it must be without, trade. (*k*) The reason of my assigning this date to smuggling is, that nothing relating to it is mentioned in Mr. Sacheverell's Short Survey, published at the beginning of the current century.—(*l*) Wherries and small boats are the vessels used for this pernicious traffic, and consequently the islanders never can derive from this any navigation.—(*m*) It would be very easy to shew, that this is really more injurious to the nation, than to the company, as goods are bought here from foreigners for ready money, which otherwise would have been bought by foreigners at our company's sales for ready money.—(*n*) It is a farther proof that this iniquitous traffic came in about the time I mentioned, that no acts were made to restrain the commerce of these people, till in his late majesty's reign.

possible,

possible, that the computations made of the losses sustained by these practices, may be much exaggerated, since these have been swelled to upwards of half a million per annum (*o*). However, the thing is plain, and speaks itself, that they cannot but amount to a very large sum, that they are continually increasing, and that the effects necessarily flowing from them are so severely felt, that it cannot be long before some effectual remedy must be devised and applied, those that have been hitherto tried having not either cured the mischief, or so much as given a check to its progress (*p*). We shall, however see, from enumerating the British laws respecting MAN, that attempts for this purpose have not been wanting. The statute relative to this island, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, as it respects only ecclesiastical affairs, need not be cited (*q*). The law in the reign of James the First, which has been already mentioned, is a private act, though recorded in the court of Chancery (*r*). Corn of any kind may be at any time exported from this island into Great-Britain, in any quantity; but they are restrained from sending more than six hundred black cattle annually, and these are to be landed within the limits of the port of Chester (*s*). Salt brought from thence into any port of Great-Britain, and put on shore there is forfeited, together with the ship and all her tackle (*t*). Persons assisting in such landing incur a penalty of twenty pounds, or six months imprisonment; and, if seized, and unclaimed in twenty days, the salt and ship to be sold to the best advantage. But by the same act, a drawback is allowed on all salts exported thither. Coals from Britain to the Isle of Man are charged with a duty of one shilling a chaldron, or eight-pence a ton; but security is to be taken for the coals being landed in that island; and if the ship sails before such security is given, both vessel and cargo are forfeited (*u*). In the beginning of the reign of George I. a law was passed to prevent East India goods being carried thither in any other than a legal manner, that is, from Great Britain, upon pain of forfeiting the ship and cargo (*w*). This appears, however, not to have had the effect that was expected from it, and therefore a subsequent and a much se-

(*o*) In a memorial laid before the lords of the treasury, many years ago, by the fair traders in Cumberland, it was stated at four hundred thousand pounds per annum; but modern accounts (how truly I know not) carry it even higher than is mentioned in the text.—(*p*) It is in order to shew, that many coincident points are to be considered in settling this remedy, that we have treated this subject largely.—(*q*) Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. cap. xxxi. The title may be found in Kellie, p. 554.—(*r*) This private act had the royal assent, July 7. 7 Jac. I.—(*s*) Stat. 15 Car. II. cap. vii. § 21. 18 cap. ii. §. 1. 3. 20 cap. vii. § 9. 32 cap. ii. § 8. 5 & 6 W. & M. cap. ii. §. 4. 5 Ann. cap. viii. art. vi.—(*t*) Stat. 1. 3 Ann. xiv. § 1. 5 cap. viii. art. 8. 2, 3 Ann. cap. xiv. §. 9. (*u*) Stat. 9 Ann. cap. vi. §. 6. This is a very great indulgence, since coals exported to foreign ports pay eight shillings for every chaldron.—(*w*) Stat. 7. Geo. I. cap. xxi. §. 5.

ever law was made, by which no goods, that are not of the growth, product, or manufacture of the island, may be imported into Great-Britain (*x*). Vessels found or discovered to have been with such goods, within the limits of any port of Great-Britain or Ireland, whether bulk broken or not, are forfeited, with the tackle and the goods, or their value. Persons concerned are liable to a fine of one hundred pounds, or six months imprisonment, at the discretion of the court (*y*). Goods entered outwards, for any other parts, and landed in the Isle of Man, the exporter forfeits the drawback, and thrice the value of the goods. Masters of such vessels are also subject to six months imprisonment. The Isle of Man is added in the oath of the exporter, upon all debentures for foreign goods (*z*). Lastly, the treasury is impowered, on the behalf of the crown, to treat for the absolute purchase of this island from the proprietor (*a*). By an Irish statute in the same reign, every master, owner, or other person, navigating a boat, intended for the Isle of Man, shall take out a permit, mentioning the officer, and the names of every mariner, and on his return from the said island shall deliver up such permit, to be cancelled by the collector of the said port (*b*). These laws are evidences more than sufficient to prove, beyond all doubt, what I have advanced, and to shew both the necessity and the importance of gaining, not a general but a distinct and exact idea of the state of the Isle of Man, and its inhabitants.

It is evident, from this succinct relation, that the Isle of Man, though so happily situated in the midst of the British Islands, contributes in its present state very little to their advantage; or, according to the prevailing opinion, is rather a nuisance than a benefit (*c*). At the same time, though it may be now in a better state than at the beginning of this century, yet is the country far from being improved, and its inhabitants much less happy than they might be. It is certain, that in point of numbers there is not a third part as many in this, as there are in the Norman Islands, though without all doubt the Island of Man is capable of maintaining many more. It was necessity, and the want of trade, that originally induced the people to take up with and encourage smuggling, which has been carried to such a height, as must clearly convince the thinking persons amongst them, that though it may help

(*x*) Stat. 12. Geo. I. cap. xxviii. § 22.—(*y*) By the same statute, chapter, and clause, which shews to what a dangerous degree this illicit trade had in the space of a few years extended itself.—(*z*) Stat. 12. Geo. I. cap. xxviii. §. 23. 24.—(*a*) By the twenty-fifth section of the same statute.—(*b*) Stat. 22. Geo. I. cap. iii. § 7.—(*c*) If we consider the extent of this isle, its natural advantages, the conveniency of its ports, the number of the people, and its ancient condition, we cannot doubt that it might be rendered much more valuable and useful.

them a little, yet it could not, supposing a much longer toleration, which undoubtedly is not by any means to be expected, produce to them any permanent and solid advantages. This practice is and must be carried on by foreigners, who reap by far the greatest part of the profits; all that the natives derive from it being a high price for their perilous and precarious labour, the vending provisions, and it may be an advanced rent for houses, cellars, and magazines. But when it is considered, that this diverts them from the culture of their lands, from improving and increasing their manufactures, and from every species of honest industry, while it exposes them justly to the resentment of the British government, they cannot conclude themselves to be in a prosperous situation. There is no way of arriving at this, but by prosecuting methods of quite another kind: and if this was fairly put into their power, and they had once clearly set before them the prospect of rendering their little estates really valuable, were freed from the difficulties they now labour under, had commodities of their own raising, and were employed in manufactures capable of furnishing an honest and lucrative trade to all the British dominions, and even a more extensive commerce in vessels of their own, they would undoubtedly open their eyes, and gladly contribute all that lay in their power, in order effectually to accomplish so salutary and happy a change in their condition.

ON the other hand, it ought to be regarded as the true political interest of Great-Britain, to render every part of her dominions as flourishing as possible, without omitting any means that may contribute to make the industry of the inhabitants turn to their own proper advantage. It is upon the basis of reciprocal utility, that the plan must be constructed for bringing this little isle into a closer connection with the general system of our government; and if any method can be devised, by which this odious traffic can be so thoroughly rooted out as never to spring up again, it will be so far from being a disparagement, that it ought to be rather considered as an additional recommendation of this scheme; that it tends at the same time to the particular benefit of MAN, and affords the inhabitants an opportunity of meliorating their own circumstances, and those of their country. Such a method as this cannot fail of giving them a just idea of their happiness, in having a title to British protection, dispose them to receive cheerfully such alterations in their own form of rule as shall be found requisite for this purpose, and induce them to accept as a favour, and even to consider as a blessing, what otherwise, from a rivetted and at the same time a natural veneration for their old constitution, would be submitted to with repugnance:

nance (*d*): A thing, that in a case like this, ought certainly to be avoided, if it may be done without prejudice to the essential point in view, and more especially if it can be made evident, that this very condescension will make it answer that end more effectually (*e*).

THE power given by parliament to the treasury, in order to treat with the proprietor for the purchase of the Isle of Man, is a sufficient proof, that the public is inclined to procure, on reasonable terms, the removal of those mischiefs, incident from the present state of that island (*f*). On this foundation, therefore, I presume to observe, that to do this effectually, the inhabitants should have an interest proposed, superior, and, in respect to them, more than equivalent to that which they have in smuggling; which, though exceedingly detrimental to us, is very far, as I have already hinted, from being in any great or essential degree profitable to these people. It is very true, the king's writ does not run in this isle; but his majesty may appoint commissioners under the great seal to enquire into the state and condition of the country (*g*). These commissioners will probably discover, that their lands are not properly improved, and that this arises from hardships, or, which is the same thing, supposed hardships in the tenures (*h*). These being removed, a bounty given upon the several sorts of corn they shall be able to export, premiums established for inclosing, raising hedges and timber, with an allowance to import a certain quantity of wool, in like manner, and under the same restriction, as is given to Guernsey, with some encouragement for working their mines and recovering their fisheries, and the founding an academy for promoting useful knowledge, would most effectually open their eyes to their own interests (*i*), and induce them, for their own sakes, to prohibit smuggling, under the severest penalties, by a law of their Tingwald.

THIS proposition, at first sight, may seem to be very extraordinary; but the reasons I have to offer in its support, will, I hope, reconcile it to the judicious reader. In the first place,

(*d*) It would certainly require much trouble, demand some pains, and employ a great deal of time to bring about such a change; all which may be saved.—(*e*) There is no necessity that Britain should insist upon any other alterations, than such as may turn to the emolument of Britain; time and accidents will silently and speedily do the rest.—(*f*) Stat. 12. Geo. I. cap. xxiii. §. 25. In the purchase of this isle, the interest of Great-Britain, the property of the lord, and the ease of the inhabitants (already subjects of Great-Britain) should be considered, and, as far as may be, conciliated.—(*g*) Coke's Fourth Institute, chap. lxix. This has also been practised in former times, as may be shewn from record.—(*h*) Earl of Derby's Account of the Isle of Man. Sacheverell's Short Survey of Man, p. 81, 82, 83. Wilson's Description of Man.—(*i*) Before smuggling came amongst them, they were an honest, harmless, quiet, industrious, and laborious people; and would, on its exclusion, become so again.

the condescension in accepting of a security, according to the form of their constitution, will undoubtedly have a favourable operation on the minds of the people (*k*). In the next place, as there are no laws in the world so strictly carried into execution as in this island, or where justice is done so soon and with so little trouble, it will answer the end proposed effectually (*l*). Lastly, the benefits bestowed upon them, being in the nature, as has been already remarked, of an equivalent, the public is bound in interest to prevent the forfeiture of them, by the bad behaviour of individuals (*m*): and taking all these together, I conceive it will appear the strongest security we can have, and of consequence the best and the most proper that we can desire.

THIS being accomplished, it may next be worth enquiring, whether, from the nature of its situation, which has hitherto been productive only of inconveniences, some capital advantages may not be derived to Great Britain. If the store-houses and magazines, at present erected at Douglas, were purchased for his majesty's use, and put under the care of the officers of the revenue, goods of all sorts might be deposited in them, till a proper market offered in Britain, and then re-shipped, paying the duties, or exported to the colonies, under the same regulations as from Britain (*n*). The like might be done at Peele, in regard to Ireland (*o*): and if in the northern part of the island the East India Company were allowed magazines, from whence they might be at liberty to export the commodities and manufactures they bring from all the countries within their charter, to foreign parts, upon the same terms that they now do from Britain, it might enable them to undersell the new companies that have sprung up in several kingdoms, as well as discourage the setting up of others, and thereby strike at the very root of the most dangerous and destructive kind of smuggling that has been hitherto invented (*p*). These regulations would equally tend to the ease and emolument of the people of Man, and to the security and benefit of this

(*k*) This was the method taken by the family of Stanley, when the isle was first granted to them, and was attended with all the success that could be wished.

(*l*) Coke's Fourth Institute, chap. lxix. where this great oracle of the law affirms all that is said in the text, in express terms.—(*m*) By this means all Exchequer prosecutions will be saved, and delinquents punished so strictly, so speedily, and so severely, as to put an end to this practice.—(*n*) The expediency of this, the security, and the advantage flowing from such an indulgence, has been already explained in the last section.—(*o*) We have before touched this matter, in speaking of Milford-Haven, and the Island of Holy-head; the allowing several such interports, under proper regulations, is perhaps the single means of suppressing smuggling, while it is necessary to continue high duties.—(*p*) The method now prescribed by several statutes, in respect to East-India goods in ware-houses, under the inspection of custom-house, as well as the company's officers, shews this to be extremely practicable.

country which are certainly points of such importance as to deserve mature consideration (q).

At length, after the close of the last war, when it was judged highly necessary to take every method possible for the improvement of the public revenue, the removing the incommodities so long experienced from the clandestine commerce carried on from this island, brought on a treaty between the Lords of the Treasury and the Duke and Dutchess of Athol, as proprietors, which being concluded, an act of parliament passed for confirming it, whereby, in consideration of the sum of seventy thousand pounds, an absolute surrender was made to his majesty of the Isle, Castle, and Pele of Man, and all the islands, lordships, royalties, liberties, and sea-ports to the same appertaining. Reserving however to the proprietors the patronage of the bishopric, of all the ecclesiastical preferments, and also all their rights to the landed property in that island, with every thing appertaining thereto, notwithstanding the said surrender, to be holden of the crown, by the ancient honourable services and the small reserved rent to the Exchequer. In consequence of this cession, by which the provisions therein were become practicable, another act was speedily passed for effectually preventing any illicit trade from the Isle of Man, the compassing of which had been the principal object in this purchase, and by this law every possible precaution was taken, not only to hinder for the present, but to prevent for the future the revival of such pernicious practices. In a third act passed in the same sessions of parliament, it was judged expedient to give the inhabitants full liberty to export the produce of their island into Great Britain, and as an encouragement to the linen manufacture established there, the same bounties were given upon the exportation of linens from thence as upon linens exported from Great Britain and Ireland. This absolute extinguishing of illicit commerce at once made a very great change, and may easily be conceived, in the state of things in that island, out of which great numbers of people who had been concerned therein quickly retired, not without an immediate detriment to the native inhabitants, who had profited by them considerably, by supplying of them with necessaries of every kind. This, though in

(q) Thus far was not only written but printed ten years ago, when upon a rumour of the purchase of the Isle of Man, the author ventured to leave a chasm in his book which hath been filled up since it was finished, so that the reader sees the history of this isle continued to the present time. But from the inconveniencies attending this experiment he judged it more prudent to wait for the necessary informations in the subsequent part of his work, than to expose himself to the like inconveniencies. And with this candid account it is hoped the reader will be satisfied.

some degree compensated by the sending over a regiment of regular troops, the pay of which circulated through the island, did not hinder the complaints of the people, who found empty houses and magazines left upon their hands, and other inconveniences necessarily resulting from so sudden a revolution (r).

IN the very next sessions of parliament, provision was made for the exporting grain of all sorts to the Isle of Man, to the amount of two thousand five hundred quarters annually from the ports of Southampton and Exeter, which being found inconvenient and expensive, were afterwards changed to Whitehaven and Liverpool. Upon an application made in the same sessions, in reference to a great quantity of bugles which remained in their warehouses, an act passed for permitting them to export these bugles into Great Britain. A third act was also passed in reference to the making affidavits taken in Great Britain, evidence in the Isle of Man, and empowering his majesty by commission out of the Exchequer, to settle ports, creeks, members, &c. for the legal exportation and importation of goods in the said island, which was very soon after carried into execution with all the powers and privileges incident to such places in Great Britain (s).

IN the seventh year of his present majesty's reign, upon the application of the inhabitants, an act passed for encouraging the trade, manufactures, and fisheries of the said island. By this law the old duties were repealed, and new ones established, permission given to import flax, flax seed, wood ashes, fish, and flesh of all sorts, and any kind of grain (except from Great Britain) without the payment of any duty whatever. The subjects of Great Britain and Ireland were also permitted to import into that island, white or brown linen cloth, hemp or hemp seed, horses or black cattle, utensils and instruments to be employed in agriculture, manufactures, or fisheries, and various other things, without payment of any duty, as also from Great Britain, salt, boards, timber, and

(r) Stat. 5. Geo. III. cap. 26. 39. 43. Besides the consideration expressed in the first of these acts, his majesty was graciously pleased to grant to the Duke and Duchess of Athol, an annual pension of 2000 l. for their joint lives, upon the fish-revenue, which was judged reasonable, as that revenue having suffered very much by the clandestine trade carried on from that island, some compensation should be made at the expence of that kingdom as well as of Great-Britain, since both were to be alike benefited by the entire suppression of this great and hitherto growing evil. The gross amount of the revenue of the Lord of Man, upon a medium of ten years, was 7293 l. per annum.—(s) Stat. 6. Geo. III. cap. 43. 46. 50. In consequence of the second of these acts the following ports were appointed: Derby Bay at the south-east end of the island, Douglas in the centre of the east side of the island, Ramsay Bay towards the north-east, and Holme or Pele Bay on the west side of the island, opposite to Port Douglas.

hoops, and likewise from the Plantations, iron in rods or bars, cotton, indigo, naval stores and lumber. All ships belonging to the inhabitants of Man should be deemed British built to all intents and purposes. There were likewise premiums given for the encouragement of the herring fishery, but these being found to have no good effect, they were converted into a fund for repairing the ports. Premiums were also given for encouraging weaving, spinning, and exporting linen cloth, and various other provisions made, which gave such satisfaction as to prevent any farther emigrations from thence to Ireland and other places. This was farther facilitated by another act passed the same year, for establishing a regular packet between Whitehaven and Douglas, and for erecting a post-office^(r).

In the twelfth year of his majesty's reign an act was made permitting the importation of white and red herrings, under a small duty, to any part of Great Britain, as also to export them to any part of America, under the same regulations that provisions are sent thither from Ireland. They were also allowed the privilege of shipping any quantity of salt requisite for curing their herrings, which was of singular utility. These instances of the attention of the British legislature have gradually had a very proper effect. All clandestine and illicit trade is now perhaps as thoroughly extinguished there as in any part of the dominions of Britain, and even the meaner sort of people cured of their propensity to it. Some merchants of property, who remained in the island, turned their views another way, and having purchased large tracts of uncultivated land, made very considerable improvements. By degrees they raised much more wheat and flax than they did formerly, their manufactures, more especially linens, begin to raise their heads, and that dissolute, drunken, and idle kind of life which naturally attends smuggling, is in a great measure extinguished. Their empty houses begin to let again, and as there are still upwards of twenty thousand people upon the island, there seems to be very little doubt, that by the lenity of the present government, and such gradual encouragements as time and their own prudent behaviour may require, the country will gradually wear a better face, and the people become easier and happier than they were before, and this is

(r) Stat. 7 Geo. III. cap. 46. 50. The first of these laws was very acceptable to the inhabitants, as it delivered them from many of the difficulties and discouragements the former statutes to prevent the enormous illicit trade carried on from thence had necessarily imposed upon them. The second was likewise very beneficial in establishing a regular and constant correspondence with Great Britain.

the rather to be expected from their natural disposition, which renders them chearful, frugal, and contented (*u*).

SUCH, according to the best lights that can be obtained, is the present state of the Island of Man, which may be truly said to have suffered as little as could be expected from such a revolution, which was chiefly owing to their feeling the immediate effects of their becoming British subjects. They are now no longer in a weak and precarious state, but under the protection of a powerful monarchy. They are freed from those hardships and inconveniencies which the residence amongst them of men engaged in an illicit trade brought even upon the most innocent natives. They now enjoy, at least, in some degree, the benefit of the act of navigation, and many other privileges and advantages resulting from this change in their condition, which opens to them the fairest prospect from a proper application of their talents and industry, and consequently affords them the greatest encouragement to such an exertion of their faculties, more especially as they are sure of effectual support in all their reasonable undertakings from their mother country, of which they have received many earnest already (*w*). There are however many things that require their serious attention, in consequence of their having a desire to co-operate in promoting their own interest, and to which no doubt they will for that reason afford proper attention.

IT hath been already admitted that many of their old laws were wisely framed at the time of their institution. But then it is to be considered that these laws were formed from a consideration of the state that this country and its inhabitants then were in, and seem all of them to be founded upon a principle of keeping them continually in the same condition. As this was a thing impossible in its nature, so from a sense

(*u*) Stat. 12 Geo. III. cap. 58. This attention to their herring fishery hath been productive of very good effects. It had been formerly very considerable, but as frequently happens by these fish shifting their course, had gradually decayed. It is now become more plentiful, the number of boats employed therein increased, and the duty of ten shillings upon a boat, together with certain duties levied upon the ships that enter their havens annually, to the number of between four and five hundred, makes a fund for the repairing and maintaining their ports. — (*w*) As the intolerable mischiefs that arose from the enormous height to which the contraband trade in this island had risen, exposed the natives to the severity of the British government, so it is evident that the future prosperity of the inhabitants must depend upon their keeping down this pernicious weed, and never suffering it to sprout again. This being properly attended to, will always furnish them with a proper plea for indulgence and assistance from the British legislature, which will certainly be afforded them, not only on account of their merit in this respect, but that they may be encouraged so to improve their land and trade as to add considerably, which is much in their power, to the public stock.

of it, they have been induced to make alterations both by committing their laws to writing, and making such changes in them as they thought convenient. For these plain, but conclusive reasons, they ought to think of reviving the whole system of their laws, in order to render them suitable to their present situation, and to facilitate the means which it affords for the benefit of the community. This should particularly dispose them to relax in reference to those statutes which give unreasonable advantages to natives, and are visibly oppressive upon strangers. This would be apparently for their reputation, especially if done voluntarily in their court of Tingwald, and to this they ought to have the less reluctance, since many advantages would accrue from it to themselves. Their knowledge in respect to the arts of improvement is very limited, their funds narrow, and this is the only method by which they can procure effectual remedies for both. It may perhaps be urged as an additional argument to accelerate so necessary a step, that in doing this they would only copy the example that Great Britain hath shewn, in her care and attention to their interests, since they became connected with her.

IN this review of the laws of the island, particular care should be taken to render every kind of landed property certain and secure. For this is the basis, and the only solid basis of improvements of every sort; for undoubtedly without this encouragement, industry will not be exerted, or at least not exerted in its utmost force. If we look round upon the several countries of Europe we shall find, that more remain barren from the precarious possessions of their inhabitants than from any defects in soil or climate. This care must be extended to leases, and even to tenants at will, for the poor are as much intitled to their little property as the rich, and it is only a sense of this that can enable them to become so, and their labour in this respect, though temporary only in regard to themselves, must be of lasting benefit to the public. The present condition of this island demands both skill and toil, but there is a moral certainty, that if these are employed, they will be rewarded. For it has been shewn already from the evidence of facts, that this island was once more populous and better cultivated, and yet the bringing it to that must have been more difficult then than now. We evidently see what good effects have followed in Britain by the establishing of good laws and relieving the people from restraints in point of property, and we likewise see by the improvements that have been made since this island became part of the dominions of Britain, that the same causes will produce there the same good effects.

IF Agriculture by the help of such laws was once put into a thriving state, and the major part of the lands in this island capable of it were brought into cultivation, amongst many other good consequences, manufactures would naturally and necessarily flourish. By mending the breed and increasing the number of sheep, than which nothing is more practicable, the quantity of wool would become more considerable, and the quality of it might be improved. The Laughton wool in the hands of people of skill might be wrought into a variety of cloths and stuffs, and if I have not been deceived in my informations, there is a great deal in this island, that with a mixture of Spanish wool might be fabricated into those light kind of cloths which the French carry to the Levant. There are already very considerable quantities of flax, and very good in its kind, raised in the Isle of Man, and in virtue of the encouragements before proposed, there is no doubt that much more might be raised, and as the linen manufacture is already well established, it might with a few necessary helps be brought into a flourishing condition. At the same time it is to be remembered, that to procure persons capable of pushing both these manufactures to any considerable height, they must have their religious and civil liberties secured, which were the inducements that brought over into this country those who have carried them here to so great a perfection. As any old laws restraining these must have been made when no such valuable objects were in view, they ought for the sake of the public good to be repealed (x).

THESE points considered, and the already thriving and favoured state of their fisheries, by means of which they send both white, and red, or smoked herrings, to several markets, we may be allowed to conjecture, that trade by degrees may be effectually established. We know very well how much it was counteracted by the impoverished state of the island, in a great degree occasioned by the common people being drawn from their honest occupations to assist in smuggling. But these evils being removed, and there being a fair prospect of commodities, and manufactures being raised by the natives, we may presume that there will not be wanting merchants amongst their countrymen ready to export them. This is

(x) It is generally acknowledged, that exclusive of sheep walks there are four or fifty thousand acres of land capable of cultivation in this island. The accurate and judicious Mr. Dobbs computes, that arable land will yield ten pounds an acre, and that an acre of land producing flax, and that flax wrought into linen of but eighteen pence a yard, will produce 30 l. This then, added to the woollen manufacture, and the fisheries, would undoubtedly put it in the power of the inhabitants of Man to become rich, populous, and happy.

far from being a mere fanciful or speculative representation, that on the contrary the progress of these improvements, when they come to be put in practice, will be found equally natural and regular. The cultivation of their lands will of course render provisions plentiful, and by augmenting the means of subsistence, and at the same time promoting useful labour, render the country populous, and people, if industrious, are the true instruments of their own prosperity. The taking a proper care of their sheep and of their wool will find beneficial exercise for a multitude of hands, and emulation, with the assistance of a little instruction, bring a great variety of their woollen goods into repute and demand at home and abroad. The advantages arising from hence will be easily conceived, when it is considered how many thousand stone of wool are, and how many more might be produced, and that every stone of wool may be manufactured up to the value of four pounds sterling. To this we may add, that there is perhaps no country in the world that enjoys more advantages than this for the carrying on with facility all the different branches of this lucrative mode of industry. The same with equal truth and certainty may be said in regard to their flax, which if converted into fine thread, and a part of that employed in the making of lace, as it very easily might be, would furnish employment for their women, and be productive of amazing profits. In proportion as these manufactures rose, the spirit of commerce, as we have before observed, would revive, for this hath been the case in all other countries, and in islands more especially, particularly where they are furnished with ports well situated, and where their fisheries furnish a constant and active race of hardy seamen. Men are never blind to their own interests, and through the wisdom of Providence this attention to their own private concerns, and the desire of advancing the fortunes of themselves and of their families, hath all the good effects, and may therefore be truly considered as public spirit.

THIS deduction founded on the true principles of political oeconomy, and at the same time on the real state and circumstances of this island, clearly evince, that what we have so often suggested as to the possibility of recovering it to a competent degree of importance, and raising the people into a rank consistent with their present situation, considered as the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, is perfectly practicable, and must afford a pleasing contemplation to every friend to the welfare of this state, and who have a proper sense of humanity. The raising a little state to a great one, the rescuing an innocent and deserving people from obscurity and poverty, by the assistance of that which is now become their
mother

mother country, is a noble and laudable exertion of wisdom and authority, and the success of this exertion will quickly become conspicuous, when the inhabitants export their own commodities in their own vessels, and thereby come to have an intercourse with foreign nations, and participate in those advantages, which experience shews such an intercourse hath hitherto produced, and which affords us a moral certainty, that in respect to them, as well as the inhabitants of all other islands, it cannot but produce. However small or confined such a commerce may be at the beginning, yet the happy situation of this island for an extensive trade, and the spirit which such a commerce would give to every species of industry amongst the inhabitants, would speedily increase the number and the spirit of their merchants, who might reasonably hope, and would certainly receive, every equitable encouragement that the legislature of Great-Britain could give. The success of their efforts would produce the most solid advantages to the inhabitants, give them a full conviction of the wide difference in respect to their own interests between a fair and legal, and a contraband and illicit trade, so that in a short time it would be rendered evident, that the conduct of the British ministry was perfectly prudent in their purchase, by which so many mischiefs were removed and so many emoluments procured, both for the British nation and the people of the Isle of Man.

SECTION IV.

Of the Western Isles dependant on North-Britain.

THEIR History in the earliest ages. Were inhabited before they became known to the Greeks and Romans. Once possessed and cultivated by a civilized industrious and commercial nation. Incontestible proofs of this independant both of history and tradition. These islands dependant upon and of great utility to the monarchs of Scotland. Invaded and conquered by Magnus King of Norway. The country totally ruined, and the people rendered barbarous by that revolution. Recovered after a long series of years, to the crown of Scotland by Alexander the Third. Their state and condition under the succeeding kings of that country. The causes of their sinking into meanness and misery. Repeated, though ineffectual attempts, to retrieve and recover them. Their great value always known and their real importance acknowledged. This often insisted upon and explained by English as well as Scots writers. A change in their condition confidently expected from the union of the two crowns. Some kind intentions manifested towards them by James the First. Attempts made to establish a fishery amongst them by Charles the First. These prove abortive and their state rendered worse than ever by the civil war. Two excellent laws respecting the fishery passed by Charles the Second and some essays made to carry them into execution. Their situation, little if at all mended, since that time. Their capacity for improvement still remains unimpaired. The description, situation, natural, civil, and commercial history of the Isle of Bute. The like in respect to the Isles of Arran, Ila, Jura, Mull, Sky, and the Long Island. There are in these and in the lesser islands about them many valuable commodities, and a variety of materials for the support of commerce. The number of these may be easily augmented and their qualities greatly improved. Beneficial informations, profitable discoveries, and several useful arts might be introduced from foreign countries into these isles. Reasons for their becoming objects of public notice and encouragement, drawn from instances of utility that would result from thence to the British empire. An attempt to point out the means by which there is a moral certainty that so important a work might be fully accomplished. The consequences that in respect to the common-wealth would certainly attend them.

THE foregoing sections, it is hoped, have given the candid and judicious reader full satisfaction, that the doctrine we have espoused of the superior importance of islands, grounded on the many advantages that may be drawn from them, was not an opinion hastily taken up, or has been so warmly,

warmly maintained without just arguments for its support (*a*). These, of which in this and in the following section, we are now to speak, whatever may be thought of them in their present low and neglected circumstances, are most undoubtedly those parts of the British dominions, that from their intrinsic qualities are capable of the highest improvements; as will easily appear, if we consider their number and extent; their happy situation in many and those very important respects; more especially since the discovery and settlement of America; the number of inhabitants they actually maintain, and the far greater number that might subsist there, in a much more comfortable, commodious, and with regard to their neighbours, in a more communicative condition, than is in the power of those who now dwell in them, and the consequences that would naturally result from thence towards augmenting the strength, extending the commerce, and promoting the naval power of Great Britain (*b*). For these islands, which are the object of the present section, though so little known, and therefore so little esteemed, make about a ninth part of North Britain, are considerably larger than any county in South Britain, Yorkshire only excepted, equal in size to the counties of Kent and Essex taken together, much larger than the province of Holland, and indeed near half as large as the whole territories of the United Provinces (*c*).

IN order to treat this interesting subject, for so in the sequel it will appear to be, intelligibly and perspicuously, it will be requisite to give first a general and succinct history of these isles, from whence it will be seen what they have been, and how they came to be in the situation they now are; and next a particular description of the most considerable amongst them, that from thence the reader may discern the probability of what has been suggested on their behalf, that is, the rendering them hereafter of more consequence and of greater utility to the British empire (*d*).

THERE are good grounds to believe that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians were acquainted with these islands, because

(*a*) Thucyd. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. v. Strab. lib. x. xiv. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 8. L'Esprit de Loix, l. xviii. c. 5.—(*b*) The candid reader is desired to carry it ever in his mind, that the attention shewn to or ardour expressed in this work for promoting the interests of particular places, does not proceed from any partial regard to them, but from a zealous desire of rendering all parts of the British dominions conducive in the highest degree of which they are respectively capable, to the general welfare of the British empire.—(*c*) Templeman's Survey of the Globe, Pl. i. iii. vi.—(*d*) If we had ever been possessed of a tolerable history or description of these isles, they would not at this day have been in this condition.

from them the Greeks must have derived their knowledge (*e*). If we had the works of Pytheas of Marseilles (*f*), who expressly affirms that he had himself visited all the coasts of Europe, from Cadiz to the mouth of the Tanais or Don (*g*), we should be able to speak with greater certainty; for though he is decried by Strabo as a false and fabulous writer (*h*), yet Eratosthenes, who was even in Strabo's opinion, a most learned and judicious geographer (*i*), had a very different opinion of him, and if, as has been before hinted, we had his writings, they would certainly give us earlier and perhaps better notions of the state in which they then were, than can be collected from those who came after him. Diodorus Siculus (*k*) says only, that there were many islands about Britain. Strabo (*l*) agrees in this, but being prejudiced against Pytheas, rejects all that he had said concerning them, and though he was indisputably a very learned and able writer, yet as he expressly places Ireland to the north of Britain, and argues from thence, that no country could be habitable that lay still farther north than that island (*m*), we may plainly perceive that he was not infallible in his judgment, and that what Pytheas said, concerning islands to the north of Ireland, might be worth knowing; notwithstanding he, on the principle before-mentioned, rejected his testimony. Pomponius Mela (*n*), a very accurate and judicious writer, mentions the Orkneys, and tells us they were thirty in number, with narrow channels between them; but he says nothing of the western isles. Tacitus also is silent concerning them, though he gives us a very particular account of Agricola's directing the Roman fleet to pass round the whole of Britain (*o*), when steering to the north of the Orkneys, he says they had sight of Thule, by which he, as well as Pytheas of Marseilles, must have meant Shetland, though what the Greeks in general say of that country agrees better with Iceland (*p*). Pliny makes the Orkneys forty, and the western islands which he calls Hæbudes thirty (*q*). So-

(*e*) Strab. Geograph. lib. xxi. p. 757 et seq. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 12. vii. c. 56. Pomp. Mela de situ Orbis, lib. i. c. 12.—(*f*) This Pytheas, in the opinion of the learned Vossius, flourished under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and amongst other works wrote an account of Thule, by which it should seem he meant Shetland, and though at first sight, more especially to such as are unacquainted with those islands, the few sentences remaining of that work appear very absurd, yet, as we may have occasion to show, they contain ill told truths.—(*g*) Geog. lib. ii. p. 104.—(*h*) Ibid. lib. i. p. 63.—(*i*) Id. ibid.—(*k*) Bibl. Hist. lib. v. p. 209.—(*l*) Geogr. lib. iv. p. 201.—(*m*) Geog. lib. ii. p. 115. iv. p. 201.—(*n*) De situ Orbis, lib. iii. c. 6.—(*o*) In vit. Agricola, cap. x.—(*p*) Strabo, lib. iv. p. 201. though he there again censures Pytheas as a fabulous writer, yet admits his accounts of these northern countries probable enough.—(*q*) Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 16.

Scandinavia or from Germany, these islands lying directly in the way, were very likely to be at least as early, if not earlier settled, than either (*d*); and this adds somewhat to the credibility of those accounts from ancient writers before produced, which assert that they actually were so settled (*e*). This also receives additional and no inconsiderable countenance, from the annals of the several northern nations, which however discordant in other points, agree in respect to this (*f*). The same may be said, with regard to the lives of those holy persons, who planted the Christian faith in the north of Britain, in Ireland, and in these islands, by which are meant not the modern legendary romances of those saints, but the sober and authentic histories of their apostolic labours, penned by their immediate disciples, who lived within this period, and were eye-witnesses of what they relate (*g*). To these we may join the Saxon and Irish chronicles, with that of the Isle of Man (*h*). The ancient histories, and the few remaining annals of the Scots abbies (*i*) concur with these, as do also those incontestible events in reference to Scots affairs hereafter mentioned, from authors of different countries, which from their consequences are placed beyond doubts of suspicion (*k*). But if we may subjoin to these, that kind of indelible and incorruptible testimony which arises from the remains of heathen temples in some places (*l*), ruins of stately work in others, strong walls and fences artificially constructed, still tho' rarely to be seen, as having been long time swallowed up by the sea (*m*), innumerable forts almost where (*n*), and decayed chapels, the dedications of which preserved by uniform and invariable traditions, which as well as their materials and construction, all refer to these times (*o*), with a multitude of other circumstan-

(*d*) Sax. Gram. Hist. Dan. lib. ii. Lyschander Genealog. Reg. Dan. p. 322. Langhorn. Antiquit. Albion. p. 309. Stillingfleet Orig. Britan. p. 245.—(*e*) Pytheas Massiliensis ap. Strab. lib. i. p. 63. Plutarch. de Oraculor. Detect. Solin. Polyhist. cap. xxv.—(*f*) Olaus Magnus, Pontanus, Toræus.—(*g*) Adamnani Vita S. Columb. Vita S. Gildæ in Actis Benedictinis, Vita S. Niniani per Eldradum—(*h*) Beda, Chron. Sax. Alured. Beverl. O Flaherty Ogygia. Chron. Manniæ ap. Camdeni Britan.—(*i*) Chron. de Maillo. Fordun. Scotichron. Liber Pasletensis.—(*k*) Such as granting *ſ Colum Kil*, i. e. Insula Seceſſus Columbæ, to that saint and all his monks, their making this monastery their royal burying-place; the instituting a great officer, whose title was Insularum Seneſchallus, marſhal of the iſles, or rather ſteward, all circumſtances ſhewing the importance of theſe countries, and their dependance on the crown of Scotland.—(*l*) Martin's Western Iſlands, p. 9. where he deſcribes a large temple of the druids in the Iſle of Lewis. Rowland's Mona Antiqua reſtaurata, p. 336.—(*m*) On the weſt ſide of Lewis remains are ſeen of walls, dwellings, &c.—(*n*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10.—(*o*) Such as St. Flannan, in an iſland of the ſame name: St. Ronan in Rona; St. Tarrani, in Tarrans-ay; St. Ulton, in Valay; St. Barr, in Kilmul; St. Columb, in Iona; St. Ouran, in the ſame iſle; St. Donnan and St. Katherine in the Iſle of Egg, and many others.

ces, not less strong than these, which might be mentioned (*p*), the proofs to every candid reader, will appear conclusive.—
But to proceed,

DUNCAN King of Scots, being about the middle of the eleventh century murdered by his cousin Macbeth (*q*), who thereupon usurped the throne, the two sons of the deceased king fled, the eldest into England, and the youngest, according to a custom already mentioned, to some of his father's relations in the western isles (*r*). Siward Earl of Northumberland, by the command of Edward the Confessor, restored Malcolm Kenmore, the eldest son of King Duncan, to his father's dominions (*s*). He governed Scotland with great reputation upwards of thirty-six years (*t*). He and his eldest son Edward being slain in Northumberland, Donald Bane, i. e. the White, his younger brother, returned with a considerable force out of the isles, and usurped the kingdom (*u*). Duncan, a natural son of King Malcolm drove him out, and assumed the regal title. But Donald Bane procuring his murder, seated himself once more on the throne, sacrificing, as the Scots historians affirm, the western islands to Magnus King of Norway, for his assistance, which rendered him odious to the nation (*w*). This however is certain, that A. D. 1098 King Magnus, with a potent naval armament, attacked these islands (*x*). The first fury of his cruel irruption fell upon Lewis; which subdued, he steered for Sky, which large and then well inhabited island also submitting, he took there such a quantity of cattle as sufficed to revictual his fleet. He next reduced Tervist and Ivist, afterwards Mull and all the northern isles. Then proceeding south, he spent some time in pillaging Ila, burning their dwellings, destroying the inhabitants, and laying every thing waste where he came. The wretched people, flying as they could, endeavoured to take shelter some in Cantire, others in Ireland, Magnus pursuing them, carried fire and sword into both countries, and after ravaging their coasts, subdued the Isle of Man, and made an

(*p*) As for instance, their numerous holy wells, dedicated to those saints, mentioned by Beda and the Saxon as well as the Scots and Irish chronicles. The songs of their old bards, supported by the names of mountains, rivers, rocks, &c. with the memoirs of their ancient families, whose possessions and pretensions afford incontestible marks of their authenticity—(*q*) He was grandson to King Malcolm by his only child Beatrix who espoused Cynrin, Abthane or steward of the isles. Schotichron. lib. iv. c. 39.—(*r*) Chron. de Mailros, p. 156. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iv. c. 45. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xii. fol. 250. a.—(*s*) Chron. de Mailros, p. 158. Simeon Dunelmens. ap. x. Script. col. 187. W. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. p. 79.—(*t*) Chron. Saxon. p. 199. J. Major de gest. Scotorum, lib. iii. c. 8. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xii. fol. 260. a.—(*u*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. v. c. 21.—(*w*) J. Major de gest. Scotor. lib. iii. c. 9. Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xii. fol. 261. a.—(*x*) Chron. de Mailros, p. 161. Simeon Dunelm. Hist. apud x. Script. col. 223. Orderic Vital. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. x.

attempt upon Anglesey, as has been already mentioned (y). We have not the foregoing particulars relative to this expedition from British or Irish historians, whose veracity might be suspected, but from the poems of two Norwegian bards, who, according to the custom of that age, attended King Magnus on purpose to record his triumphs (z). It may seem strange that he met with no resistance from the Scots, but the wonder will cease when we consider, the collusion between Magnus and Donald Bane gave rise to this expedition, and that Edgar the son of Malcolm Kenmore, assisted by a small body of English troops, under the command of his uncle by the mother side Edgar Atheling, at this very juncture entered Scotland, and defeating and making prisoner the usurper, reseat himself on the throne of his ancestors, so that a nation thus occupied at home had no leisure to look to her affairs abroad, however important (a).

THE manner in which the inhabitants were treated at the time the western islands were reduced by King Magnus is sufficiently characteristic of the spirit of the Norwegian government. Where the people patiently submitted to a superior force, they were plundered of all they possessed, their dwellings destroyed, and themselves exterminated, where they made any resistance (b). Under such masters, not only every species of art and industry decayed, but even the memory of past improvements was in time buried in oblivion. Persons of the best condition retired immediately with such effects as they could withdraw, and they were gradually followed by those, who being accustomed to a civilized mode of life, had no relish for the manners newly introduced, and were besides capable of acquiring a subsistence in other countries (c). Agriculture, which had been carried to a considerable height, became neglected, for very few would chuse to cultivate the soil, where, from repeated debarkations of invaders, they discerned little or no security of reaping the benefits of their labours (d). This decay of husbandry was followed by thinning the numbers, and spoiling

(y) Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 528.—(z) Torfæus Hist. Nor. P. iii. cap. 4. p. 421. The names of the two Norwegian bards, whose songs of this expedition have been transcribed into their histories, were Bornus Curvimanus and Thorkell Hamarskiöld, which also shews the authority of these poetic chronicles, which were beyond all doubt the most ancient records of the northern nations.—(a) Chron. Saxon. p. 206. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. v. cap. 25. Major de Gestis Scotorum, lib. iii. cap. 9.—(b) Rerum Orcadenarum Historia, lib. i. cap. 17. p. 71.—(c) So the Norwegian bards before mentioned expressly inform us.—(d) The ingenious Mr. Lisle, in his Observations on Husbandry, one of the best books in our language, vol. 1. p. 73. having described a very commodious plough (borrowed from the Romans) still employed amongst the inhabitants of the Isle of Harries, breaks out into this exclamation, "I wonder these barbarous islanders should have it in use, and not we in England!"

the breed of their horses and cattle. The habitations from houses dwindled to hovels, their churches and chapels mouldered into ruins, their fortresses were left a prey to wind and weather, and little watch towers in their stead erected round the coasts, from whence in case of descents, signals by lighting fires might be given (*e*). Vessels were seldom employed, as in times past, either in fishing or in commerce, but in continual descents on the neighbouring countries or other piratical expeditions, by which they provoked frequent invasions (*f*). Most of their clergy and monks went either to Scotland or Ireland to their former pupils, and instead of receiving, as in time past, the youth of those countries for instruction and education in their monasteries, these isles grew to be the receptacle of outlaws and malecontents from all the northern kingdoms, and of course their former mild and equitable mode of rule was utterly subverted, a number of petty tyrants started up, who maintained themselves by violence and rapine (*g*). Thus in the space of somewhat less than two hundred years, a total revolution happened in the manners of the nation, and, in consequence of that, as total a change in the face of the country (*h*).

It cannot be doubted, that the Scots nation were extremely sensible of this diminution of their power and credit, by the loss of these isles; and tho' they had a succession of five monarchs, none of them deficient either in courage or abilities, and some highly extolled for both, yet they were not recovered, and indeed no great efforts made towards it, the reasons of which, from their own compared with the histories of neighbouring countries may be very easily collected. In the first place the kingdom was very often in such confusion as required much prudence in enacting laws, and no small application in getting those laws carried into execution (*i*). There were frequent conspiracies against the persons of some of these kings, which, tho' detected and defeated, were attended with a great deal of perplexity and trouble (*k*). The disputes and wars which they embarked in against the kings of England, and the many journeys they made thither, and their voyages

(*e*) The Danes erected the very same kind of towers, wherever they became masters in Ireland, of which there are large accounts in the English translation of Sir James Ware's *Antiquities* of that island, but these differ much from the fortresses erected in earlier times, and by more civilized and more industrious inhabitants.—(*f*) Fordun. *Scotichron.* fol. 153. a. Hect. Boeth. *Scot. Hist.* lib. xiii. fol. 284. Major de Gest. *Scot. lib.* iv. cap. 6.—(*g*) Boeth. *Scotor. Hist.* lib. xiii. Buchan. *Rer. Scotie. Hist.* lib. vii. *Rer. Orcad. Hist.* lib. ii. p. 161.—(*h*) Compare, as far as they can be compared, the accounts given of these people before and after the Norwegian conquest.—(*i*) Fordun. *Scotichron.* fol. 155. b. Lett. de Gest. *Scotor. lib.* vi. p. 219, 220. Buchanan, *Rer. Scotie. Hist.* lib. vii.—(*k*) *Chron. de Mailrose*, p. 173, 183, 185, 189, 190, 193, 203. Boeth. *Major. Lett.* Buchan.

into France, occupied them not a little (*l*). Besides, the Norwegians being in possession of Orkney and Shetland, as well as the western islands, assisted their rebellious subjects, and in their support made many descents on both the west and east sides, and were almost continually committing depredations on the coasts (*m*). Add to all these, the want of naval forces, which as in a great measure occasioned by being deprived of these isles, so from this defect arose the little hope of recovering them. By slow degrees however, principally by a strict regard to justice, encouraging industry, and giving all the countenance possible to commerce, a maritime strength was at length raised. This encouraged Alexander II. to demand the restitution of the Ebudæ, as taken without right from the crown of Scotland, and still unjustly and injuriously detained (*n*). Haquin, who in the Latin Chronicles is called Aco or Hacus, King of Norway, rejected this demand, neither would he listen to an overture made him, of receiving for this restitution a compensation in money. This absolute and peremptory refusal determined Alexander to have recourse to arms, tho' he knew in a dispute at sea his force was much inferior to that of his enemy. How he might have succeeded in this arduous undertaking cannot be determined, but it is certain he proceeded boldly and yet with prudence. Before he could effect any thing decisive, he was seized with a fever, of which he died in the island of Bernera (*o*).

ALEXANDER II. was succeeded by his son of the same name, a child of eight years old, in whose minority the public affairs were much neglected. In this space, Haquin King of Norway neglected nothing that could tend to secure the islands which he possessed. He sent for their princes to, and caressed them in his court, granted them many favours, encouraged them in equipping squadrons, and augmented his own fleet, that he might be in a condition to meet his enemies, whenever they appeared (*q*). Alexander the Third, as soon as he was of age, took the most effectual measures in his power to vindicate his right to these islands, and to revenge his father's death. With this view he sent a strong squadron under the com-

(*l*) Chron. de Mailrofs, 173, 183, 185, 189, 190, 193, 203.—(*m*) Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xiii. Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. lib. vii. Rerum Orcad. Hist. lib. i. cap. 38.—(*n*) Boeth. Scot. Hist. ubi supra. Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 163.—(*o*) Chron. de Mailrofs, p. 219. where, from the inscription on this monarch's tomb, it is called Cersurei. Fordun. Scotichron. fol. 161, 162. we find Kernercy. Chron. Mannæ A. D. 1249 calls it Karwary. So it stands in the Danish histories. But from a charter of confirmation by King Robert Bruce, it appears to have been Bernera, a small island between North Uist and Harries.—(*q*) Chron. de Mailrofs, p. 200, 221, 222. Major. de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. iv. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. vii.

mand of the Earl of Ross, to reduce the smaller isles (*q*). The news of this obliged Haquin V. King of Norway to hasten his preparation, to preserve what were still and had been so long his ancestors and his possessions. In the summer A. D. 1263 he sailed with some stout ships to Shetland, and from thence to Orkney, where his whole fleet was to assemble. As soon as his squadron had joined, he ravaged Cantire; and having provided for making a diversion in the North, by an invasion in Caithness, proceeded with his fleet to attack the isles of Arran and Bute, which he quickly reduced. Thus far success attended him, and the Scots, instead of recovering the islands which they had lost, seemed in no small danger of being deprived of the very few they had left. But Haquin debarking twenty thousand men on the continent, was totally defeated in the memorable battle of Largs, fought on the first of August, with the slaughter of two thirds of his forces by the army of the King of Scots, upon which he retired hastily to his ships, and these being dissipated by a storm, and many of them destroyed, he returned with the shattered remains of his fleet to the Orkneys, and there, after a few days sickness, expired (*r*). Alexander did not let so favourable an opportunity slip away unused. The naval force that was insufficient to dispute the dominion of the sea with the Norwegians, was powerful enough to reduce the Isle of Man, so that its King became tributary to Alexander. But taught by the fate of Haquin the great uncertainty of war, he had again very wisely recourse to negotiation with Magnus King of Norway, son to Haquin, with whom at length he concluded a treaty in A. D. 1266, by which he recovered Man and all the islands (those of Orkney and Shetland excepted) paying to Magnus four thousand marks sterling in four years, and an annuity of one hundred marks sterling, on the feast of St. John the Baptist yearly; which treaty was solemnly ratified by both Kings Magnus IV. and Alexander III (*s*), and they lived afterwards in such union, that the latter bestowed in marriage his daughter, the Princess Margaret, on the son of the former, who had by her an only daughter, called also Margaret, stiled the MAID of NORWAY, and who by the death of her grandfather without issue, became (but she survived not long) the undisputed heiress of the crown of Scotland (*t*).

(*q*) Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 165. It is very remarkable that of this expedition (in which the isles were cruelly spoiled) there is not the least mention made by any Scots Historian.—(*r*) Fordun. Scotichron. fol. 164, 165. Chron. de Mailrofs, p. 229. Chron. Mannæ, A. D. 1260. Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xiii. p. 288, 289. Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 165, 175.—(*s*) The original treaty is still preserved in the archives of the crown of Denmark. See also, Fordun. Scotichron. fol. 164, 165. Skene de Verborum Significatione, under the word ANNUELL. Hist. Orcad. p. 171, 198.—(*t*) Fordun. Scotichron. fol. 168. J. Major de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. iv. fol. 68, a. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xiii.

THE islands during the remainder of the reign of Alexander III. a wise and just Prince, attentive to commerce, and solicitous about a naval power, began again to thrive, and their inhabitants recovering from their misfortunes, assiduously applied to cultivate the arts of peace. But in less than twenty years, the scene was again changed entirely, by the premature death of that monarch, and the troubles that followed it (*u*). This gave the chiefs, through all the isles, an opportunity to set up for themselves, and quarrels arising amongst them, they harassed and destroyed each other's countries, and thereby spread farther and wider that desolation which was but too general before (*w*). However in those isles King Robert Bruce found shelter in his greatest distress, which gave him so true a sense of their importance, that as soon as he could bring his affairs into some order, he took care to secure the title to them, by renewing Anno Domini 1312, with Haquin V. King of Norway, the treaty of cession, made between Magnus IV. and Alexander III. their respective predecessors, at his court in Inverness (*x*). He also kept up a fleet, shewed kindness to some of their chiefs, and amongst other points in his political testament, this was one, that his successors should consider the Western Isles, when properly improved and well managed, as highly advantageous, or if in bad hands, exceedingly dangerous to their realm, and for this reason, should never trust the government of them to a single person (*y*). But the example he set, in demolishing the fortresses in the Isle of Man, after he recovered it out of the hands of Edward I. had a bad effect, for being followed by his successors, it left the islands naked and defenceless, which discouraged industry, and made way for general indigence. The detaching these countries from the sovereignty of Norway so lessened the naval power of that crown, as to give great ease to its neighbours, and this fell out too at a very critical conjuncture, for if Alexander III. had not re-annexed, and re-annexed them as he did, not by conquest but by purchase, the Scots, in the distressed and distracted condition to which they were reduced by domestic dissensions and repeated invasions, could never have withstood a Norwegian fleet and army, though inferior in strength to those they had formerly (though sometimes not without great difficulty) defeated (*z*). It was no question a just sense of this engaged King Robert

(*u*) Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. *Lestæi de Rebus Gestis Scotor.* lib. vi. Buchanan. *Rerum Scot. Hist.* lib. viii.—(*w*) As a striking instance of this we find the following passage in the Norwegian annals A. D. 1301. One Lokuland, at this time infested the Western Isles, who put to death his adopted brother John, and slew besides 4000 persons, and 3000 children of both sexes.—(*x*) Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 172, 173. Skene, *de verborum Significatione*, as before cited.—(*y*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xiv. *Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. vi. p. 249. Buchanan. *Rerum Scotic. Hist.* lib. viii.—(*z*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xi. fol. 229, 243. lib. xiii. p. 289. *Lest. de Rebus Gest. Scotor.* lib. v. p. 196, 197, 203. Chron. de Mailrofs, p. 225.

Bruce to renew the treaty with King Magnus, and it is not impossible, that his demolition of the fortresses might be to render the isles less tenable by the Norwegians, in case they retook them.

AFTER the demise of King Robert, who left his dominions to his son David, then in his minority, there followed a new scene of trouble and confusion, which lasted near a century. In this space, the great men in different parts of the kingdom erected their lands into a kind of Principalities, in which they governed according to their own humours, and seldom agreeing amongst themselves, instead of having recourse to the laws, took up arms against each other, and thus every little quarrel was decided by the sword. It may be easily conceived what dreadful effects this produced in the manners of the people, and in the state of the country (*a*). But these sad disorders, as they no where rose to a greater height, so they no where produced greater calamities, than in these Western Isles. The principal person here was the chief of the potent family of Macdonald, who in support of his claim to the Earldom of Ross, debarked many thousand men in that country, and was defeated with much difficulty and great loss on both sides, under the regency of the Duke of Albany (*b*). James I. on his return from his captivity in England, endeavouring to bring the affairs of his dominions into good order, met with great obstructions from this family, whom he sometimes treated with clemency and sometimes with rigour (*c*). But to facilitate the bringing all things in these parts into a regular and peaceable condition, the King very prudently determined to renew the treaty with the crown of Norway, which was done accordingly July 29, 1426, and the arrears of the annual pension reserved on account of the troubles and expensive wars in which the crown of Scotland had been engaged, were for the preservation of peace and a good correspondence between the two crowns remitted (*d*). After this, the King applied himself with indefatigable diligence to the care of public affairs and to removing those innumerable disorders which, through the long relaxation of the government, overspread the whole kingdom. So difficult a task as this required, though pursued with the utmost ardour, a long course of time. In the space of eleven years however, King James made so great a progress, that there was the glorious prospect before him of a regular and well settled state, when by a conspiracy of malecontents, whom by his

(*a*) Major. de Gest. Scotor. lib. v. vi. Less. de Rebus Gest. Scotor. lib. vii. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. x.—(*b*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xvi. fol. 341. Less. de Rebus Gest. Scotor. lib. vii. p. 268, 269. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. x.—(*c*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xvii. fol. 347. Major. lib. vi. fol. 142. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. vii. p. 273.—(*d*) Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 182. Skene takes not the least notice of this, or indeed any of the Scots Historians.

strict justice and upright conduct he had provoked, he was in the flower of his age cruelly murdered in his palace (*e*).

IN the course of the minority of James II. the kingdom was again torn by intestine dissensions, in which the people of the isles, intent, as usual, on rapine, had their full share, and landing with a great force on the West side of Scotland, and ravaging a great tract of country, committed most inhuman barbarities. The King, when he assumed the government into his own hands, did all he could to repress these disorders, and to restore peace throughout his dominions (*f*). In opposition to this, and to support their own greatness, the ambitious Earl of Douglas and the Lord of the Isles, with other potent Lords, entered into a solemn league, and in consequence of this, the Earl of Douglas was to take arms, in order to reduce the South, and the Lord of the Isles the North part of the kingdoms (*g*). But in this attempt they failed, and after a long contention and much bloodshed on both sides, the Lord of the Isles was forced to have recourse to the royal clemency, which he obtained, and so long as the King lived behaved afterwards as became a good subject (*h*). It was towards the close of this monarch's reign, that by the interposition of the crown of France, the disputes with Christian I. King of Denmark and Norway, in relation to arrears of the annuity payable for the western isles, were prevented from breaking out into a war, and an expedient proposed, to put a final end to these altercations, by marrying the daughter of King Christian to the young Prince of Scotland (*i*). But before this treaty could be concluded, King James was unfortunately slain at the siege of Roxborough, August the 3d 1460 (*k*). One of the first sinister events in the minority of James III. was a new rebellion of this Lord of the Isles, though in obedience to the deceased King's commands, he had marched with three thousand men to the siege of Roxborough, from whence, after taking that place, he returned with them home. In this new irruption he brought the whole strength of the isles, ravaged a large extent of country, made the Earl of Athol the King's uncle with his countess prisoners, and acquired by plundering the country an immense booty. Yet in the close he was no gainer by this expedition. The far greater part of his vessels were lost in a storm, in which almost all their crews perished likewise, so that for want of power of doing more mischief, he was disposed or rather was compelled to remain quiet during the remainder of his

(*e*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xvii. fol. 353. Lessl. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. vii. p. 276. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. x.—(*f*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xviii. fol. 360. Lessl. de Reb. Gest. lib. viii. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xi.—(*g*) Lindefay's History of Scotland, p. 50. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 53.—(*h*) Lessl. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. viii. p. 396. Lindefay's History of Scotland, 55, 58. Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 65, 66.—(*i*) Hist. Orcad. lib. ii.—(*k*) Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. xviii. fol. 391. Major. de Gestis Scotor. lib. vi. Buchanan. Rerum Scotticarum lib. xi.

life (*l*). He left, however, his pretensions to his son and successor John, of as turbulent a disposition, who immediately assumed the titles of Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles (*m*).

As soon as the King began to take cognizance of his own affairs, he sent ambassadors to Copenhagen to demand the Princess Margaret, only daughter to Christian I. King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in marriage; and the treaty being signed September the 8th 1468, the absolute cession of the western Isles, and the full extinction of all past arrears, and of all claim or right in future to the reserved annuity, was stipulated, and besides these, the Queen brought also the immediate possession of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, which made her exceedingly acceptable to the nation (*n*). This point thus effectually settled, King James made laws for encouraging commerce, building ships, providing busses, nets, salt, and whatever else was necessary for erecting and establishing an herring fishery. But before this could be carried into execution, John Earl of Ross, in virtue of his engagements with the King of England, Edward the fourth, and James Earl of Douglass, then an exile in Edward's court, raised a formidable insurrection (*o*). Terrified, however, by the King's great preparations, he submitted in time, and the earldom of Ross being voluntarily surrendered by him, was annexed to the crown by an act of parliament (*p*). In the reign of James IV. who was a Prince very attentive to naval power, foreign commerce, and the inland trade of his dominions, many good laws were made, which breathe a true public spirit, and a just regard for the good of all his subjects (*q*). With a view to civilize and reduce the inhabitants of the western isles, into peaceable obedience, and due respect to justice, they were by acts of parliament put on a level with the other parts of the realm, and their inhabitants, not only obliged to respect the laws of the land, but justices were appointed to visit them annually; for which purpose they were divided into two districts, North and South, there to hear and determine all causes civil and criminal. It was also provided, that they might no longer be compelled by necessity to continue their old piratical practices, ships, busses, and pinks, should be annually fitted out, and on board these all idle persons and men void of employment might repair, and earn an honest livelihood by their labour (*r*). He

(*l*) Less. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. viii. p. 311, 312. Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. lib. xii.—(*m*) Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. lib. xii. p. 426. Drummond's history of Scotland, p. 74. Crawford's peerage of Scotland, p. 425.—(*n*) Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 187. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. viii. p. 315. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. Lib. xii.—(*o*) Rymeri Fœdera Angliæ, tom. xi. p. 474, 475, 486, 487, 492, 499.—(*p*) Stat. Jac. III. par. 9. cap. 72. p. 120.—(*q*) Buchanan. Rer. Scotic. Hist. lib. xii. Drummond's history of Scotland p. 125, 126. The best evidence of these facts are the laws as they stand in the first volume of Scots statutes.—(*r*) Less. de Rebus Gest. Scotor. lib. viii. p. 332. Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hist. lib. xiii. Stat. Jac. iv. par. 4. cap. 49. p. 169.

was careful in renewing alliances with foreign courts, and concluded particularly a treaty of commerce with the King of Denmark, by which he secured many advantages to his subjects. He would probably have done much towards restoring the isles to their former flourishing condition, if he had not been snatched from his subjects by an immature death in Flodden field, September the 9th 1513 (*s*).

IN the course of the long minority of James V. and the several changes of government, that through the prevalence of different factions happened therein, the affairs of the nation ran again into confusion, and the inhabitants of the isles were in a great measure left to themselves; but their numbers being reduced, and having now only small boats, they were unable to disturb the coasts of the kingdom, so that their intestine feuds, which still continued, were destructive to none but themselves (*t*). The reins of power being once in the King's hands, he resumed the plan of his father, making many good laws for promoting husbandry, manufactures and industry of every kind. He instituted the College of Justice, made a statute for erecting inns in every county, another for planting orchards and raising timber, with several respecting the encreasing commerce, fisheries, and navigation (*u*). In respect to these isles, he went beyond all his predecessors, for in the month of May Anno Domini 1534, he sailed from the port of Leith, and passing along the east coast first landed in the Orkneys, and having restored order in them, proceeded next to the western isles, many of which he visited, and sending for some, and compelling others of their chiefs to come and make their submissions, he carried them with him as hostages, confining them in Edinburgh and Dunbarton Castles, restored peace, and drew all the rents due to the crown in those countries; which, so long as the chieftains were in custody, remained as peaceable and as quiet, as any other parts of his dominions (*w*). We have a curious and correct journal of his royal voyage still extant, which evidently proves that Mr. Alexander Lindsay, who was master of the king's ship, was a very able and a very experienced seaman (*x*). Besides this, the king made two voyages to France with a considerable naval force for those times, and if he had cultivated the friendship of his uncle Henry VIII. of England, who promised to make him Duke of York and his lieutenant in his realm, instead of listening to priests, and connecting himself so

(*s*) Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. lib. xxvii. Less. de Reb. Gest. Scotorum lib. viii. p. 365. Lord Herbert's history of Henry viii. p. 28. 29.—(*t*) Less. de Reb. Gest. Scotorum lib. ix. Buchan. Rer. Scotie Hist. lib. xiii. Lindesay's history of Scotland.—(*u*) See the first volume of the Scots Statutes, p. 202.—259.—(*w*) Less. de rebus Gestis Scotor. lib ix. p. 448, 449. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv. Drummond's history of Scotland, p. 204.—(*x*) This very singular tract is to be found at the close of Father Fournier's Hydrographie printed at Paris, A. D. 1667, in Folio.

closely as he did with France, he might have carried all his extensive views into execution, reigned in glory and died in peace (y). Whereas by suffering himself to be misled into violent proceedings at home, and a war with England, he was plunged into such troubles and perplexities as threw him into a melancholy that brought him speedily to his grave, December the 22d 1542, immediately after the birth of his daughter Mary, foreseeing and foretelling the misfortunes impending over his subjects (z).

THE King's dying apprehensions were but too well justified by a sad series of unfortunate events. Henry VIII. sincerely regretted the death of his nephew, and was very solicitous for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage, when at fit age, between Queen Mary, heiress of Scotland, and his only son Edward prince of Wales. Such a union as this had been always wished by wise men and true patriots in Scotland, as appears by John Major's history dedicated to James V(a). But the French faction, at the head of which was the Queen Dowager, violently and obstinately opposed it. The war this occasioned proved as injurious to the nation in general, as it was particularly so to the isles, for a considerable number of their best men were slain in the fatal battle of Pinky; and the Earl of Warwick in his naval expedition, by utterly destroying not only the naval power, but also all the ships and vessels employed in the trade of Scotland, ruined entirely and irretrievably the correspondence between the kingdom and these isles (b). In the succeeding reign of James VI. the islanders, through their own weakness, did no great mischief, but were by no means steady in their obedience. Philip II. of Spain had conceived great hopes of seizing some of them, by a correspondence with the popish inhabitants, looking upon this, a circumstance that deserves to be seriously considered as well as constantly remembered, as the most effectual means of distressing Britain. Accordingly some in his pay, Anno Domini 1597, actually attempted to possess and fortify Ailsay, a strong inaccessible rock about four miles in extent, lying east from Cantire and south west from Arran, at a small distance from Ireland, near the coast of Carrick, and not very far from England. This bold enterprize was defeated, and the author of it forced to throw himself into the sea, by private persons, without authority or assistance from, though

(y) Polydori Vergilii Anglica Hist. lib. xxvii. Lord Herbert's history of Henry viii. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. xiv.—(z) Lest. de Rebus Gestis Scotor. lib. ix. p. 459. Buchan. Rer. Scotie. Hist. lib. xiv. Drummond's history of Scotland, p. 227, 228, 229.—(a) De Gestis Scotor. lib. v. fol. 106—(b) Lest. de Reb. Gest. Scotor. lib. x. Buchan. Rer. Scotie. Hist. lib. xv. Herbert's history of Henry viii. p. 243. Heyward's history of Edward vi. p. 286, 287. Lindesay's history of Scotland, p. 195.

afterwards rewarded by government (c). This desperate action and the consideration of its consequences, made, however, such an impression on the King and his Ministers, that they consented to a proposal to remove all the people in the Isles, and supply the loss of them with persons better disposed to labour and commerce out of the low countries. In pursuance of this project, a very full commission was granted by the crown to several persons of figure and fortune, who endeavouring to carry the scheme into execution, found the common people exceedingly well disposed to return to the cultivation of the lands, and a peaceable course of life. But their chiefs would not submit, so that after some blood shed on both sides, the commissioners were forced to return. Three years after another attempt was made, which ended more unfortunately, and in consequence of that the design was abandoned (d).

AFTER the accession of King James to the throne of Great Britain, it might have been, indeed it was expected, that the immense benefits which more especially at that time might have accrued from the herring, cod, and whale fisheries, in these seas, by taking proper notice of these Islands, would have been effectually secured to this nation, to whom of right they undoubtedly belong (e). Sir Walter Raleigh and other intelligent persons took great pains to set these important points in a true light (f). Sir William Monson went to these Islands, and has shewn not only what prodigious advantages might arise by properly settling the Hebrides, but also that it was very practicable, not necessarily expensive, but what might be certainly, easily, and expeditiously done (g). However, after all it was never done, but it would require too much room to shew how there came to be so total a neglect of a design so manifestly to the advantage of the united crowns, well understood by and so acceptable to the King and to Prince Henry (h). In the succeeding reign something was attempted,

(c) Spotswood's history of Scotland. p. 245. This shews sufficiently the danger of neglecting these Isles, to which our enemies have ever had and ever will have an eye; as in this case the Spaniards, afterwards the Dutch, and in the last war the French, who under Thurot actually made a descent on Ila. —(d) Johnstoni Rerum Britan. Hist. lib. ix. Spotswood's History of Scotland p. 466, 467, 490. Basilicon Doron, Book 11. p. 159. in the collection of King James's works. —(e) Stat. Jac. vi. par. 15. cap. 237. p. 720. in the Scots Acts it is cap. 241. but this is a mistake, it should be 237, as in the old Edition. This Act is to declare null and void alienations of the affize herring, as being the custom due to the crown for fishing. What this was, see Skene de verborum significatione, under the word ASSISA. Sir Dudley Carlton's Letters, p. 156, 175, 437, 441, 447, 450, 454, 502.

(f) Observations touching trade and commerce presented to King James by Sir W. R. England's way to win wealth, by Tobias Gentleman, 1614. 4to.

(g) These accounts are contained in the sixth book of his naval tracts, preserved in the third volume of Churchill's collection of voyages. If the advices then given, and the lights at that time afforded had been properly pursued, this nation had acquired many subjects, and many millions of money more than she now possesses. —(h) There is still existing an original letter from Sir Thomas Challoner to the prince, in which this matter is very fully discussed.

and a capital impediment removed. King Charles I. honoured a scheme for establishing a fishery in these Isles with his patronage (*i*), and encouraged it by his bounty. He prevented what might have been an irreparable prejudice to the interest of Britain, the alienation of some of these Islands to the Dutch, who had made overtures for and were very desirous of purchasing them. King Charles's intentions were defeated, as his endeavours by intestine disputes had been originally interrupted, by the breaking out of the civil war (*k*)

AFTER his death, the long parliament openly adopted the maxims of these Monarchs, vindicated their pretensions to the dominion of the sea, and in prosecution of their claims, made a successful war upon the Dutch (*l*). But all their views in regard to the fishery were interrupted by Cromwell's usurpation, who except demolishing one fortification and building another on the Isle of Lewis, did nothing in this respect (*m*). At the restoration the Isles were in the most miserable condition, thinly inhabited, multitudes having retired to Ireland, improvements altogether neglected, without trade, without vessels, and of course without a fishery. Charles II. passed two excellent laws, one in England the other in Scotland, for recovering and supporting our fisheries, towards which he (for some time at least) employed considerable sums of money, by which there was not barely a trial made, but enough was done to shew that all might have been done that was proposed (*n*). But the King's necessities obliging him to withdraw what he had advanced, the merchants were discouraged, and the design abandoned, before these Isles received any great benefit from it, which would have proved the sole means of securing its success (*o*). For as these and other unavailing attempts, have incontestably shewn all other methods, however plausible,

(*i*) Rymeri Fœder. Angliæ, tom. xix. p. 211. Trade and fishing of Great Britain displayed, by Capt. John Smith, 1662. 4to. Martin's history of the western islands, p. 340.—(*k*) In order to be convinced of this, we need only consult Secretary Coke's letter to Sir William Boswell, then the minister to the States, April 16, 1635, printed in the Appendix to the book mentioned in the next note, p. 478. by which the king's care of, and attention to the fishery, and his true sense of its importance fully appear.—(*l*) The learned Selden's elaborate work, entitled, MARE CLAUSUM, was by order of the long parliament translated into English, under the title of the dominion of the sea, printed A. D. 1652. folio, by appointment of the council of state, dedicated to the parliament by Marchamont Needham the translator, with additional evidences of England's sovereignty of the sea from state papers in the reigns of K. James and K. Charles.—(*m*) Martin's history of the western islands, p. 8.

(*n*) The English acts were stat. 15 Car. II. cap. 7. §. 16. and 15 Car. II. cap. 16. §. 1. The Scots law stat. Car. II. par. 1. sess. 1. cap. 39. p. 227.—(*o*) If the inhabitants of these islands were properly encouraged, they would carry on all kinds of fisheries so cheap, so early, so steadily, and with so many other circumstances of natural advantage, in curing, packing, and carrying fish to all the markets that could be found for them in Europe and America, as would soon beat out all competitors.

however expensive, must prove inadequate to the retrieving and retaining the fisheries, till these islands are once properly settled and supported, and then it would follow of course, rise as high as either skill or industry could carry it, and could never more be taken from us (*p*).

THUS we have at length travelled through this long history, in which the want of interesting and important events must be made up by keeping in constant view its utility (*q*). The facts have been carefully and diligently collected from our antient writers, and if we consider the whole series attentively, we can have no reason to doubt of their authenticity. The obscurity of early times, and the feebleness of our vouchers in regard to them, is nevertheless fully justified, by the concurrent evidence in succeeding ages, by which it appears, that as those old accounts affirm they were once fully peopled (*r*), these people must have had subsistence, and of course these isles were also once fully cultivated. They had likewise a very formidable naval force, which must have arisen from commerce, the sole means of attaining it in islands (*s*). The old history therefore, in representing things so to have been, ought from thence to be concluded credible. The conquest of these islands by the Norwegians, and the recovering them again to the crown of Scotland, are points supported by the records of both nations as well as history, and are therefore placed beyond all dispute (*t*). In this period, the manners of the inhabitants and the condition of the country were changed, so as to bring them into circumstances alike detrimental to themselves and dangerous to their neighbours (*u*). How the remedies to these distempers, though sufficiently obvious, came not to be applied, is easily to be accounted for from this history, and in consequence of their not being applied, how every thing ran in a rapid course from bad to worse, is without difficulty to be ap-

(*p*) This is self evident. For give these islanders vessels, nets, salt, and cask, or put it in their power to acquire them, and they will not be long in redeeming what they consider as their patrimony (the fishery) out of the hands of foreigners, who could never after get it again from them by industry, force, or fraud.—(*q*) From such a succinct history as this of the rise, progress, and absolute decay of a people, the philosophic politician will much more clearly discern the connection between causes and events, than in long details of different facts, where from a number of intervening circumstances, the chain of course cannot be so easily distinguished.—(*r*) Facts are of all others the best evidence in respect to history, and the credibility of written testimony is best distinguished by a comparison with them.—(*s*) Odericus Vitalis, who flourished in the reign of William Rufus, speaking of these and other islands then under the dominion of the King of Norway, mentions it as a thing notorious, that wealth rolled in to them on all sides by the resort thither of shipping from all parts of the world. *Histor. Eccles. lib. x.*—(*t*) By this means we are furnished with many particulars from the Islandic, Norwegian, and Danish Histories, not preserved in our own.—(*u*) Johnson the Historian says they were, *Homines Agrestes, sine Legibus, sine Moribus, sine Urbium Cultu, ac prope omnis Humanitatis et Religionis expertes.* *Rer. Britan. Hist. lib. vii. p. 231.*

prehended,

prehended. That these are not at all exaggerated will be apparent to those who will take the trouble of consulting the descriptions given of them by our best historians (*w*).

By this deduction of facts, it has been rendered evident, that in the hands of well disposed, well governed, well disciplined, well instructed, and well employed people, these islands furnished all the necessaries of life; as their fisheries and native commodities did then plentifully supply them with the means of commerce; that despotism introduced ignorance, barbarism, and piracy; that feuds, revolutions, and other political accidents depriving them of all resort, has for several ages rendered them neglected (*x*); that inability to labour to any purpose has produced involuntary idleness, followed by universal indigence, and in consequence of this undeserved reproach (*y*); and that notwithstanding all this, they not only retain all their original natural capacities of being restored to their primitive flourishing condition, but from those alterations, which, in a course of ages, this world and its inhabitants have experienced, it is become of the utmost importance to Great Britain to pay a speedy and serious attention to these islands, for her own sake, and those numberless and immense advantages that may be drawn from them (*z*). This proposition shall be conclusively proved, and many of the foregoing points still farther explained and supported, by entering, so far as the design of this work requires, into a particular enumeration and description of the largest, best situated, and most considerable of the western islands.

WE will begin, as is natural, with the islands nearest the continent, that is, with those which at present compose the shire of Bute, and which were never at any time detached from their dependance upon the crown of Scotland.

(*w*) Hæctoris Boethii Scotorum Regni Descriptio, fol. 8, 9. Less. Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ Descript. p. 34—39. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. i. the fullest and most accurate of all. Buchanan acknowledges he had this from Donald Monro, a worthy pious man, who made the tour of the isles for this purpose.—(*x*) It is by navigation and commerce that islands thrive and flourish; interdict these, and of course wanting their proper nutriment they decline and decay.—(*y*) In the course of this section we shall vindicate the characters of these people, who in respect to industry, capacity, and disposition, are as fit to restore and revive the ancient lustre of their country, as can be wished, and were compelled to those acts of rapine and violence, for which in past times they were decried, and for which their innocent posterity so deeply suffer.—(*z*) It was a thorough sense of their importance and utility, excited in me a desire of writing their history distinctly, that from the evidence of facts what they once were might be made apparent, the true causes of their present condition explained, and from thence the certainty of restoring and improving them might be rendered visible.

B U T E.

THE name of that Isle, which affords an appellation to the shire, has been by several authors, and in various periods, very differently written, Bote, Both, Bothe, Boot, and now generally Bute (*a*). Our ancient writers suppose it derived its name from a cell erected therein by St. Brendan, an Irish Abbot, who flourished in the sixth century, because in his language such a cell was called Both (*b*). It is however more probable, that this name was of greater antiquity, since we find it denominated Botis, by the anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. If, supposing this to be the name imposed by its original inhabitants, an etymology must be had, we may suppose it derived from the word Bodhi, which in the old language of the country, signifies a thing depressed in water, or a flat country encompassed by the sea (*c*). The situation of the Isle of Bute is remarkably commodious, at the entrance of the Firth of Clyde, having the main land of the shire of Air, at the distance of six miles on the East; separated from Cowel, which is part of Argyleshire, by a channel not above half a mile broad; the lands in this country being remarkably high shelter it from the North Winds. The island of Arran lies to the south west, at the distance of about ten miles; and the peninsula of Cantire, which is also a part of Argyleshire, lies directly west at somewhat a greater distance (*d*). It is no less happy in its climate, which is very mild, the Spring is forward, Summer kindly, Winter rather rainy than cold, little exposed to frosts or snow, the former very short, and the latter lying but a few days on the ground, having in all these respects the advantage of the adjacent continent (*e*). Their longest day about seventeen hours and a quarter. This country is remarkably healthy, and people live in it to a great age, upon which the inhabitants value themselves not a little (*f*).

(*a*) John Fordun calls it Bothe; Hector (Boys) Boethius, files it Botha; John Major names it Butha; Lesley Bishop of Ross, Buta; Donald Monro, and from him Buchanan, Bute; Camden, Bute; and Timothy Pont, in his large map in Bleau's Atlas, entitles it the Yle Boot.—(*b*) Fordun. *Scotichron.* lib. i. cap. 28. *Hect. Boethii Scotorum Regni Descript.* fol. 8. *Camdeni Britan.* p. 695.—(*c*) Baxteri *Glossar. Antiquit. Britan.* p. 44. But it may not be amiss to remark that Botis in the Galic or Erse, signifies a Boot.—(*d*) See the large map of this island by Timothy Pont, *Geographia Blaviana*, vol. vi. p. 59.—(*e*) From a MS. account of this island communicated by a person of distinction, perfectly acquainted therewith.—(*f*) Martin's *History of the Western Islands*, p. 215. To this it may not be amiss that we add a singular and authentic circumstance. There was a few years since (and very probably it still subsists) a club in the borough of Rothsay, of whom the Chairman was one hundred and six, and every other member turned of seventy, of these there were twenty, all dwelling in the place, or within two miles of it.

It lies stretched in length from North to South, about eighteen miles, the broadest part from East to West is about five, but is in many places narrower, being indented on both sides by large bays of the sea. The face of the country is rather hilly than mountainous, except the north east part, which however is lower considerably than the mountains of Cowal (*g*). There are large tracts of level and fruitful ground interspersed between the hills through almost every part of the island. With all these and many other advantages, a great part of it is little cultivated, tho' very little, if any, utterly unfit for cultivation (*h*). In point of size, it is larger than Rhode Island in America, somewhat smaller than Guernsey, but to the full as large as Jersey (*i*). The soil in general is of a very good quality, light and free, upon a gravelly bottom, the country rising gradually from the sea side, and the flats along the shore, and through the vallies, are of a deep strong mould, uncommonly rich and fertile, and extremely fit for wheat, barley, oats, and flax, tho' at present the inhabitants grow only oats and bear or big (*k*), of which grain they commonly export about two thousand quarters annually, which is very inconsiderable in comparison of what they might produce, as they have sea weeds, and which is much better, sea shells in vast quantities, and even the ground upon their hills, when ploughed and cleared of the heath and improved with any manure, bears good crops of oats and big; and for many years afterwards produces a fine feeding grass (*l*). Towards the North end of the island there is a quarry of coarse slate, and a vein of indifferent good coal has been found, which however dipping very deep is not thought worth that expence which must attend working. Here is plenty of free stone, and stone of a red colour, of which there are many ancient buildings. There is a large mountain of lime stone, that hangs over the sea (*m*). There were anciently many woods, several of which, some of oak, and not inconsiderable, still remaining; besides these, there

(*g*) Cowal is a district of Argyleshire, separated from Knapdale on the west by a vast inlet of the sea called Loch Fyne, famous for the immense shoals of excellent herring which annually resort thither. The mouth of this noble loch lies open to the isle of Bute, and at the distance only of a few miles to the North West. As to the hills, the highest in the island is but four hundred and twenty feet perpendicular.—(*h*) From the MS. account of this island agreeing with the succinct character of the Bishop of Ross, *Est Bute elegans quidem Insula*.—(*i*) Rhode Island is stiled the paradise of New England; we have already endeavoured to do justice to Jersey, See P. S. vol. i. p. 516. In point of situation, capacity of maintaining people, and other natural advantages, Bute is not inferior to either, but in the number of inhabitants falls very short of both.—(*k*) This, from its having four or sometimes six rows of grain, is by J. Bauhine, called *Hordeum Polystichon*, and *Polystichon Hybernum*, by C. B. winter or square barley. *Raii Hist. Plant.* p. 1244. *Sibbaldi Prodrom. Nat. Hist. Scotiæ*, p. ii. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 30. *Merret. Pin. Rer. Nat. Britan.* p. 63.—(*l*) MS. account of this island.—(*m*) *Martin's Description of the Western Islands*, p. 215.

are copses in different parts of the island, and trees of every kind in the Earl of Bute's park, which flourish more, and grow quicker, than upon the opposite continent; so that most sorts of timber, and more especially oak, might be raised here with the greatest facility (*n*).

Few islands can boast of being so well watered, for besides abundance of fresh clear springs, there are several fine rivulets, some of which run two or three miles, and are very fit for turning mills; there are also six or eight lochs of fresh water, and amongst these four that have rivers running out of them; the largest, called Loch Fad, that is the long loch, is a mile in extent. These abound with pike, perch, and very fine large trout (*o*). There are several large bays on the East and on the West side of the island, and between it and the neighbouring continent of Cowel, there is a safe, deep, and capacious road, called the Kyles of Bute (*p*). Here are wild, tame, and water fowl of most sorts, and in great plenty. In the hills there are deer, and that beautiful creature the roe buck (*q*). Their horses are small, and so are their black cattle, which is chiefly owing to their feeding too great a number, and their lands lying in common, for otherwise few places produce better pasture. They have also excellent sheep, and no small quantity of swine (*r*). Their coasts abound with different sorts of sea fish, and particularly herring.

THE inhabitants are in general well made, very active and robust, notwithstanding which they are mostly poor and indolent; their houses, saving those of the old barons, now mostly converted into farms, but very indifferent, and except the ordinary and necessary mechanic employments, a good deal of linen (some of which is very fine) and boat building, they can be scarce said to have any manufactures (*s*). This is chiefly owing to their having no foreign commerce, and very little intercourse with strangers. But as these evils are obvious, so they might be easily remedied, by sending a few skilful farmers

(*n*) This seems to be in some measure an advantage peculiar to this island, and therefore deserves particular attention, as the promoting the growth of timber, tho' not an immediate, would most certainly prove a capital benefit to the inhabitants, whenever those improvements hereafter proposed come to take place.—(*o*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 214. Pont's map of this island. It has been before shewn, that any kind of fish natural to lakes, may be brought into and propagated, without much expence or trouble, in any lake whatever, which might also, when the number of inhabitants increased, prove a considerable advantage to this island, in case greater benefits might not arise from draining some of these lochs.—(*p*) This safe and commodious road seems to invite the building a town on this side of the isle.—(*q*) This tho' small is justly esteemed excellent venison, Sibbald's Prodrum. Nat. Hist. Scotiæ, P. ii. lib. 2. p. 9.—(*r*) This abundance of provision which is also capable of great increase, is another circumstance in favour of the proposed improvement.—(*s*) Some years since, when an Osnabrig manufacture subsisted at Dunoon, it was in part carried on here, on account of the cheapness of living and labour.

and industrious mechanics amongst them, who would soon teach them to see their own interests, and the many benefits that might be derived from so pleasant and fertile a country as that in which they live (*t*).

THIS, as our old writers agree, was the first island possessed by the Scots, under the command of Reuda, or as others call him Rothsay, their leader (*u*), and who is supposed to have built the town and fort of Rothsay, which though a royal borough, and giving since the reign of Robert III. the title of Duke to the heir apparent of the crown (*w*), is but a very inconsiderable place, in which there may be about six or seven hundred inhabitants (*x*). The bay upon which it stands is a very fine one, capable of holding a fleet of large ships, but the entrance and quay are very indifferent, which with the assistance of their noble proprietor, and with great probability of success, the inhabitants are using their utmost endeavours to improve (*y*). Their chief support is the herring fishery, in which they employ from one hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy, or, according to later accounts, about two hundred boats, all built by themselves, and each of these boats requires four hands. They don't go to seek the fish in the deep water, but wait till they come upon their own coasts, and sell them daily as they take them to the attending traders from Glasgow, Greenock, and other places. There are two ferries, one from Rothsay to Greenock, which is about five leagues up the Clyde, and the other from Mount Stewart to Larges, the nearest port in the shire of Air. These go regularly every week, the former carrying corn, cattle, and other things for the Greenock market, and the latter chiefly passengers. These two ferries, as they maintain a constant intercourse with the continent, are very advantageous to the island, and are the chief source of what little industry there is among the inhabitants. They most of them speak the English language, which may be considered as their mother tongue, tho' many of them understand and some likewise can speak Galic or Erse, which is the common dialect of the ordinary people in the other Western Islands (*z*).

THERE

(*t*) In such an island as this, whoever would plant the tree of industry, must use the same method which Cato took to excite the people of Rome against the Carthaginians; he must produce some of its richest fruits, and tell them, these may be procured without war or travel, only by taking (as other folks do) a little more pains at home.—(*u*) Bed. Eccles. Hist. Gent. Ang. lib. i. cap. i. J. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. i. cap. 28, p. 47.—(*w*) Camden. Britan. p. 695. Selden's Titles of Honor, P. ii. chap. vii. p. 698. This creation was A. D. 1398. Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 431.—(*x*) Martin's description of the Western islands, p. 214, 215.—(*y*) MS. account of the Isle of Bute.—(*z*) It is evident from this account that since Martin's time, who wrote above half a century ago, the royal borough of Rothsay and the isle in general is improved, as not more than half

THERE are several old fortresses, or places anciently built for defence, such as Dun Owl, or Dun Ouil, and Dun Allin on the west side (*a*), and on the east side of the island a little north from Rosa or Rothsay, there is an old castle three stories high, which must have been when erected a strong, a stately, and an expensive work, and a great security to the place (*b*). For heretofore when frequent hostilities and little confidence reigned between the Highlanders and the inhabitants of the low countries, Rothsay was the intermediate port to which both brought their goods, and what intercourse there was came to be settled there, and this made it larger and more considerable than at present, when an amicable correspondence is established, and no traces of their former jealousies subsist (*c*).

THIS evidently points out the great conveniency of its situation, and makes it more than probable, that with suitable encouragement and judicious management, Rothsay might be revived, and become in time the entrepot or common magazine between the neighbouring continent and circumjacent islands, for which it seems by nature to have been designed, of which it was once possessed, and to which by a moderate degree of attention it certainly might be both easily and effectually restored (*d*). In former times there were several churches in the north and in the south part of the island (*e*); there are at present but two parishes, and in them about five, or as some compute, seven thousand souls. The principal proprietor is the Earl of Bute; besides his lordship, Stewart of Ellick and Ballenden of Keams have houses upon and estates in the island (*f*).

half the number of boats now employed in the herring fishery were then sent yearly, which change of circumstances shews what on further encouragement might be expected in all kinds of improvement.—(*a*) Martin's description of the Western Islands, p. 215.—(*b*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 81. speaking of this fortress, as it was in his own time, calls it, *Castrum regale pulcrum et inexpugnabile*. This was the largest castle in all the Western Islands. In Cromwell's time the moat was filled up and the outworks demolished. But the main building remained entire till the Earl of Argyle's attempt in May A. D. 1685, when it was destroyed. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 632. Woodrow's history of the church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 533.—(*c*) Thus, as it sometimes happens, particular places suffer from what becomes a common and public convenience. There was also in former times a flourishing school in this town, to which many of the most considerable families in the Highlands sent their sons for education, and this was likewise very beneficial to the inhabitants.—(*d*) This doctrine is confirmed from the advantages already derived to the inhabitants from the ferries to Greenock and Largs.—(*e*) As for instance Kil-Michel, Kil-Blain, Kil-Chattan, &c. to the number of twelve, besides Lady Kirk in the Borough of Rothsay, and there were also thirty hermitages, which are distinguished by the addition of Kerry before the name of the place, as Kerry Lamont. From the consideration of the Barons houses, chapels, hermitages, and the extent of Rothsay castle and town, may we not safely conclude, that in ancient times this island was better peopled.

(*f*) Martin's description of the Western Islands. p. 215.

It may be justly inferred from this succinct account of the island of which we are speaking, it is still capable of many and great improvements (*g*). But as these must follow each other gradually, it will be sufficient to mention those that are most obvious, may be most easily made, and are most likely to introduce others (*h*). The large quantity they already have of excellent pasturage, would, if divided, inclosed, and tolerably improved, enable them to feed considerable herds of large and valuable cattle, instead of multitudes of little low priced beasts, and this easy alteration would quickly turn in many respects highly to their advantage. They might likewise, by amending and applying themselves more assiduously to agriculture, raise great crops of all sorts of grain, and might also fall into making malt and baking biscuit (*i*). By these and other such like branches of industry, the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, of Portsea, and the town of Portsmouth, have, almost within memory, become rich and thriving (*k*). If we consider that Bute and its port of Rothsay lies in the mouth of that river which has the largest share of trade, and the greatest resort of shipping in North Britain, and withal remember the cheapness of labour, it will appear by no means a difficult task to bring a competent proportion of the victualing trade, and perhaps of bark as well as boat-building hither; more especially if suitable regard be had to these objects in repairing and improving the quay (*l*). Whenever any thing of this sort is attempted in earnest and with spirit, a new scene will quickly open. The people when once they have such a market as this brought home, will aspire and find funds sufficient to carry them in their own vessels to foreign markets. They will not wait (as they now do) till the fish come to their own coasts, but will go and seek them in the deep water, and in a few years be as early, as keen, and as successful in this fishery as the Dutch (*m*). When this shall happen, as

(*g*) Let it be considered, that the climate is mild, the soil fruitful, and the herring fishery abundant, and we cannot but see industry alone is wanting.—(*h*) It is of infinite consequence to begin right, the improvements here proposed are evidently attainable, and these once attained, will afford spirit, skill, and scope to proceed to many things it would be in vain to attempt now, and therefore it would be needless, if not impertinent, to mention them, tho' in succeeding ages those that would be now thought so may be not attempted only but accomplished.—(*i*) This is in the order of nature; when cattle and corn are once obtained, their owners next care will be to turn them to the best advantage.—(*k*) These are cases in point, and therefore from the success in one place we may with probability conclude the like success will follow from like endeavours in another.—(*l*) The connexion of these improvements one with another, and their general suitableness to this isle and port, will exceedingly facilitate their introduction.—(*m*) It is well known that the herrings divide, and that one shoal passes through the western islands, so that from Arran and Bute they might be caught as soon within a few weeks as on the coast of Shetland, and carried to many of the principal markets much sooner, by the happy situation of these isles for foreign commerce.

happen it will, no wonder at all will arise at the event, but the only wonder will be, how advantages so great and so apparent came to be so long and so totally overlooked (*n*).

THE Isle of Bute has on the east two islands, Kumbra-more and Kumbra-beg, that is Kumbra the larger and the less (*o*). The former has the continent on the east, at the distance of a mile; Cowel, about five miles to the north; Bute, at nearly the same distance, on the west; and Little Kumbra, scarce a mile to the south west. It is about three miles long, scarce two in its greatest breadth, hardly nine in circumference (*p*). Always celebrated for its fertility, capable of producing all kinds of grain in perfection, as also hemp and flax, and every sort of timber. In soil and climate not at all inferior to Bute, very level, and yet well supplied with fine springs of excellent water (*q*). It is a distinct parish; and tho' the whole isle does not contain above two thousand of improveable acres, yet it subsists upwards of threescore families, making together between three and four hundred souls. Part of it is the property of the Earl of Bute, the other part belongs to the Earl of Glasgow (*r*). The lesser Kumbra is not much above a mile in circumference, rough and hilly, was formerly full of deer (*s*). At present there are but two families upon it, who pay the proprietor (the Earl of Eglington) his rent in rabbit skins (*t*). About half a league west of Bute, about the same distance south from Cowel, and two leagues to the east of Arran, lies Inchmar-noch; little superior in size to the lesser, but in point of beauty and fertility nothing inferior to the larger Kumbra; abounding, for its small extent, with trees, corn, and pasture, finely diversified with hills and vallies, and remarkably healthy (*u*). Here in ancient times was a cell of religious persons, or keeldees, who subsisting by the labour of their own hands, enjoyed in this pleasant islet the sweets of solitude (*w*). It belongs to the Earl of Bute.

—(*n*) Some of the most frequented ports in South Britain were also long overlooked, Liverpool became considerable only in the last age, and Whitehaven in this.—(*o*) These islands are mentioned by Fordun, Boethius, and all our old authors, who speak of them as larger, or at least more considerable, than at present.—(*p*) These measures are exactly taken from the map before mentioned.—(*q*) From the MS. account of the isle of Bute.—(*r*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 215. MS. account.—(*s*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 81. *Insula Combray minor, insignis Venatui, paucos igitur habet Incolas.*—(*t*) From the MS. account of the Isle of Bute.—(*u*) This account was taken from an intelligent person well acquainted with this island.—(*w*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 81.

A R R A N.

A R R A N.

THE large island, which in the Itinerary of Antoninus is stiled Glotta, from whence the name of Glottæ Æstuarium is given to what we now call the Firth of Clyde (*x*) is by the anonymous geographer named Iberran, which preserving the termination, is with us, and has been some ages, named the Island of Arran (*y*). This seems to be a more probable etymology, than that it was so called from the Irish word Arran which signifies Bread (*z*). It lies in the mouth of the before-mentioned Firth, and directly opposite to Loch Fyne, having Cowel five miles to the north; Bute, near ten miles north east; Saltcoats, on the continent, at the distance of seven leagues due east; Air at somewhat a greater distance, south east; the peninsula of Cantyre on the west, distant about two leagues; with Loch Ryan in Galloway, fifteen leagues south east; and the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, eighteen south west. A situation remarkably commodious, as with a fair wind, ships may proceed from thence to France, Spain, or Italy in the space of a week (*a*). The air is pretty sharp, but pure, and remarkably wholesome in respect to the natives; their Springs somewhat earlier, their Summers warmer, their Winters colder, with more rain and snow, than upon the continent. The extreme height of its mountains occasions frequent gusts of wind, and subjects the inhabitants to very variable weather (*b*). Their longest day is somewhat more than seventeen hours.

THE shape of this Island is very differently represented in maps, in some of the latest its form approaches that of an oval. The face of the country is far from being agreeable, being almost every where rough and mountainous (*c*). The Cock of Arran, which is towards the northern extremity, is a famous sea mark (*d*). But the highest mountain is near the center of the isle, called Goat Field (*e*), from the top of which in a serene day the three British kingdoms may be seen,

(*) Camdeni Britan. 695. he writes Glota, some think it should be Clota.
 —(y) Baxteri Glossar. Antiquit. Britan. p. 135. It is not impossible that Iberan might signify Bread-Island, but to deserve that name, the country must have been then in a state very different from that in which it is now.—
 (z) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 217. (a) The fisheries revived, p. 32.—(b) MS. account of this island transmitted by the ingenious Mr. D. Main.—(c) Donald Monro's account of the islands that belong to Scotland.—(d) The situation of this isle, the conveniency of this port, and the great resort of shipping thereto, renders this sea mark highly useful.—
 (e) Lesszi Region. et Insular. Scotiæ Descriptio, p. 34.

together with the Isle of Man (*f*). It is in length from south to north twenty-four miles, its greatest breadth from east to west fourteen, being in many places indented by the sea (*g*). It is about six times as large as Bute, something superior in size to Anglesea, and nearly equal to the island of Granada, which has been lately acquired by us in the West Indies (*h*). A very small part of it near the sea coast is improved (*i*), and much the greater part of the island possibly in ancient times was, and certainly might be so. For tho' it cannot be denied, that many of these high mountains are no better than so many barren rocks, and others at present overrun with heath and fern (*k*), yet there is tolerable pasture upon most of them, and the country is by no means destitute of natural commodities. Amongst these we may reckon fullers earth in some places (*l*), white and brown chrystal, onyxes of many sorts, limestone in great abundance, freestone of a very deep fine grain, which appears at day, and also a harder kind of stone, of a red colour, fit for building, and which will endure for ages (*m*). There is a vein of good coal which burns bright and clear, without either flame or smoke; excellent peat or turf, little inferior to coals, and in prodigious plenty (*n*). What arable land there is, lies, as has been said, along the shore, and though it wears no very promising appearance to strangers, yet it yields with very little labour considerable crops of bear, oats, peas, potatoes, and most kinds of garden stuff (*o*). Some small quantities of flax and hemp, but a great deal more might be raised, nor is either the soil or climate at all unfavourable to timber, since there are some very large firs, and natural coppices all over the island, one of which is a mile long (*p*).

THIS island is admirably watered, having innumerable springs in every part of it, four or five fresh water lochs, particularly Loch Yersa (*q*), out of which there runs a fine

(*f*) Mr. D. Main's account of Arran, which, from this circumstance, appears capable of great commercial correspondence.—(*g*) Fisheries revived, p. 31. Martin in his Description of the Western Islands, p. 217. makes it but seven (Scots) miles broad.—(*h*) These computations were made with all the caution and all the circumspection possible.—(*i*) Such was its condition when the learned Camden wrote. A century and o half have since elapsed, and such is its condition still!—(*k*) The rankness of weeds, which in other words is the strength of vegetation, shews what skill and industry might produce in so fertile a soil.—(*l*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 218.—(*m*) Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 218.—(*n*) Mr. D. Main's account, so much the more to be relied on, as coming from a person of skill and experience in things of this nature.—(*o*) We may easily conceive great improvements might be made by persons skilled in agriculture, where so much results from the rudest tillage.—(*p*) These firs were planted for ornament at Brodwick castle, but would doubtless have grown as well if planted there or any where else for use.—(*q*) This is properly a double loch, the water running out of Loch Tan into Loch Yearfa or Herlay.

river. There are besides many rivulets, five considerable streams that fall into the sea on the west side, and as many on the east, and of these there are several capable of driving mills, or of being employed to other purposes, either for the improvement of agriculture or the promoting manufactures (*r*). There are in Arran all kinds of birds, and all the fowl common to the western islands, particularly the black cock and grey hen (*s*), abundance of partridges, and tarmachens (*t*) in great plenty. Black cattle of a pretty good size, and as they have sufficient room to feed are fat enough to fetch a good price, considering the number exported, which is annually about a thousand (*u*). They have a hardy serviceable breed of horses, sheep, goats, swine, and rabbits in plenty; but there are no hares, for, as the inhabitants report, though brought over more than once, they would never breed in the island; otters there are, but no foxes (*w*). In the hills they have a considerable number of wild deer, but those are the sole property of the Duke of Hamilton. The lochs and rivers abound with salmon, trout, and other delicate fish, and cod, ling, whiting, and various other sorts are caught upon their sea coasts, as well as, in their proper season, large quantities of the finest herring (*x*).

THE inhabitants of this island are in general of a brown, some of them of a dark-brown complexion, well proportioned, stout limbed, and tho' through want of encouragement in appearance indolent, yet are capable of much labour and fatigue (*y*). They dwell in scattered villages over all the

P 3

isle,

(*r*) This is a circumstance of infinite importance, for though notwithstanding this happy distribution of water, Arran has for ages remained unimproved, yet the capacity for improvement still subsists, and only needs to be considered to convince any competent judge, that in a country where people gladly work for a groat a day, with such assistance any sort of manufacture might be carried on to great advantage.—(*s*) This is the Tetrao seu Urogallus Minor of Aldrovandus, and other naturalists. Willoughby's Ornithology, p. 172, 173. In Sweden called Orre.—(*t*) The Lagopus Avis, the Francolin of Italy, by some the White Partridge, in Scotland called the Ptarmigan or Termachen, well described by Dr. Hill in his History of Animals, p. 488. esteemed the most delicious kind of wild fowl. Some of these (though not from this island) have been brought by sea tolerably sweet to London, and allowed to be a great delicacy.—(*u*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 222.—(*w*) Mr. D. Main's account of this island, from his own observation, and the accounts given him by the people of Arran.—(*x*) It has been supposed that peat smoke might answer in curing red herrings, but the experiment has never been made, from a notion that the herring caught here are too good. It is true that red herring in general are made of inferior fish, because though made with more trouble and at greater expence, they sell lower than pickled herrings, and therefore none are thus cured that are fit for pickling; but the cheapness of labour and fuel considered, it may be well worth while to make the trial, for certainly the best fish well cured would make the best red herring, and of course bring the best price at every market.—(*y*) It is but just to add, these people are very inquisitive, docile, and ingenious, so that being once tolerably instructed and properly encouraged,

isle, and except the mechanic employments, absolutely necessary to their subsistence, they have no manufactures amongst them; if we except the burning the sea wreck into kelp, which they sell for about forty and sometimes fifty shillings a ton. As for fern ashes, they are either unacquainted with their use, or know not how to carry them to market, since they suffer persons from England to come and burn the fern, and carry away the ashes in their own vessels. They also spin and weave a little coarse cloth for their own use (z), and spend the rest of their time in grazing and agriculture, both of which are by them very indifferently understood (a). The want of commerce is, if not the sole, at least the principal source of their indigence and indolence; they are ignorant of the value of industry, and from that cause solely are not industrious, which is a strong confirmation of our position, that foreign traffic is so essential to an island, that with it the inhabitants will thrive and live at their ease, which they never can do without it (b).

IN Arran there are many remains of druidical superstition, a plain proof that it was known and inhabited in very early times (c). There are in it many remarkable caves in point of size and situation, and the remains of some antient fortresses (d). The castle of Broadwic, which belongs to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, remains still a large edifice, and must antiently have been both strong and sumptuous (e). Besides this, his Grace has another house at Loch Kenistel. The greatest beauty Arran can boast is derived from Nature, and consists in the incomparable harbour of Lamlach, which lies in the south east part of the island, covered by Lamlach a small island, which is about three quarters of a mile long (f). This haven is a kind of circle of nine miles in circumference, surrounded by high mountains, capable of holding five hun-

draged, there is no room to doubt of their prosecuting every kind of improvement with diligence and effect. What merit, what charity, what humanity would there be in teaching these people the value of their own country?—(z) Flax and hemp are raised only for this inconsiderable manufacture; but either extend this, or put the people in the way of supplying other manufacturers, and much larger quantities would be raised. The producing the fruits of industry, and putting them in every body's power, will certainly and speedily too excite industry.—(a) Their grazing and husbandry are suited to their occasions and circumstances, and if these were mended, they would quickly mend also.—(b) In order to comprehend this matter fully, consider the description of Zealand, (one of the seven provinces, by Guicciardin, or Lemnius.—(c) See Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* p. 366. where a character is given of the inhabitants of the Hebrides, by that learned and candid antiquary Edward Lhwyd.—(d) Description of the Western Islands, p. 219.—(e) Fordun the eldest of the Scots historians, mentions these castles then belonging to the crown, *Scotichron. lib. 2. cap. 10.*—(f) *Leslæi Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ Descript. p. 34.* Buchan. *Rerum. Scotticarum Hist. lib. i.* from Donald Monro, they call the isle at the mouth of the port, Molas.

dred sail of ships, with great conveniency and in the utmost safety; its distinguishing excellency arises from the disposition of the island at its mouth, which affords a double entrance and outlet, so that with almost any wind ships can either come in or sail out (*g*). To the north, at the distance of about five leagues, lies the harbour of Loch Ransa, which is land locked, and though in other respects very commodious, is dry at low water (*h*). However the bay without is spacious, and sixty or seventy ships may anchor there in great safety (*i*). There are many bays and creeks in which small vessels may ride in security, round the whole island, which is generally a bold coast, where no danger is to be feared (*k*). With all these natural advantages we may venture to assert that notwithstanding its present condition, this island is certainly capable of receiving very great improvements.

If it should be asked, what are these? we may answer, that in the first place it would be very happy that the veins of lead and copper, that have been discovered there, were wrought (*m*), which would encourage the opening of their coal mine, which though once injudiciously worked, might be easily made a thing of value, and their stone quarries might also be wrought to advantage (*n*). In the next place their fisheries might be extended, in which at present they employ about fifty or sixty boats in catching herring only (*o*), which are all sold to strangers and eaten fresh, some being carried as far as Edinburgh, on account of their being as fine fish as any of the kind, and coming in early (*p*). Circumstances by which they might surely turn to greater advantage (*q*). Thirdly, salt, soap, or glass might be made here, or indeed

(*g*) The fisheries revived, p. 29. where there is an exact description and draft of this port.—(*h*) Account of this island by Mr. Main.—(*i*) The fisheries revived, p. 29.—(*k*) Upon a strict examination, some of these little havens may be found capable of improvement, at a small expence, if ever that should become necessary.—(*m*) There is nothing more incertain than mining. To balance this, extraordinary encouragement must be given. A long lease, at a small rent, would tempt skilful persons to adventure. A proviso, that the lease should be void in case the lessee desisted from working one, two, or three years, would secure the proprietor from any ill effects from such a lease, and procure a fair trial.—(*n*) The coal mine was wrought by a gentleman from Ireland. People have come in boats from the same country, raised slabs of stone from twelve to eighteen and even to thirty inches thick, which they sold at Dublin.—(*o*) Few of these boats exceed fourteen tons, and except these, according to Mr. Main's account, there is hardly a vessel belonging to the island.—(*p*) That is somewhat earlier than the same fish are caught in the Firth of Forth, and thus without leaving home the inhabitants have a certain and immediate market.—(*q*) If as has been hinted before, better red herrings than were ever exported could be made here, either with peat or wood smoke (for their coppice wood might serve for this purpose) cheaper than any where else, would it not be much more profitable to send a part of their herrings thus cured abroad, than to vend all for home consumption? a dozen cured would produce what an hundred fresh are sold for.

all three, with great conveniency and cheapness (*r*). If any of these were attempted, their husbandry and their grazing would be quickly extended and gradually improved, since notwithstanding its rugged appearance, there are vast quantities of land in Arran, that might be turned to account under proper management; but this can never be expected till by the prospect of suitable encouragement, the inhabitants are prompted by the hopes of living better, to that industry to which they have been hitherto strangers (*s*).

THERE were formerly several churches in this isle, at present there are but two parishes, viz. Kilbride and Kilmoray, the ministers of each have fifty pounds a year; there is also a chapel and a catechist at Loch Ransa, endowed by Anne Dutchess of Hamilton, with twenty-five pounds a year (*t*). All the inhabitants are good Protestants, and the number of souls is computed at about five thousand. On the east side of the island the people in general speak English, and Galic, Irish or Erse on the West (*u*). The Duke of Hamilton is the principal proprietor, and possesses by far the greatest part of the island. Mr. Fullerton of Kilmoy is hereditary coroner, and his family have been settled here between seven and eight hundred years, and Mr. Stuart of Kildonald has also a small estate; there may be likewise, besides these, some other proprietors. We have now gone through the shire of Bute, which is composed of these islands, and sends a member to parliament, alternately with the shire of Caithness (*w*). We will conclude with observing, that though these islands contain, all taken together, about four times as much land as Guernsey, Jersey, and their dependencies (*x*), yet they have not in them all above a fourth part of the number of inhabitants (*y*), which will not appear in any degree strange to the judicious

(*r*) Coals, fish-oil, and kelp, cannot be any where had at a lower rate, or the other requisite to these manufactures, labour, be any where procured upon more moderate terms.—(*s*) If the inquisitive peruser will take the trouble of examining into the nature of the country, climate, productions, &c. of Switzerland, and particularly the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, and Schweitz, he will be fully convinced there is nothing extravagant or impracticable, much less absurd or impossible, in what is here suggested.—(*t*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 225. Mr. Main's account of this island.—(*u*) If a few places for the education of youth, on the plan of the charter schools in Ireland, were established in Arran, it might prove the means of spreading the English language, and at the same time introducing industry.—(*w*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 224. Mr. Main's account of this island.—(*x*) It may be said, that there is (more especially in regard to Arran) a wide difference in the nature of the lands. But does not this arise in some degree from industry? is not this excited by a more equal disposition and division of property? does not this deserve the consideration of those who regard the public interest in all her dominions?—(*y*) This is the best criterion for judging of the relative value of particular districts to that political body of which they are members.

reader, if he takes the trouble of perusing and comparing the account we have given of these, with the detail that we have likewise given of those islands (z).

I L A.

THE first and most southern of what are properly stiled the *Æbudæ*, is what Ptolemy calls *Epidum Insula* (a), by the natives *ISLA*, that is simply the Isle (b), as being the seat of dominion and mistress of all the rest. There cannot be a more commodious situation, than this little country enjoys (c). It has the island of *Jura* on the north, from which it is separated by a sound, in some places scarce one, in others full four miles broad. To the east lies the Peninsula of *Cantire*, at the distance of seven leagues; *Ireland* to the south, at somewhat a greater distance, and the ocean on the west, with no land between this and *America* (d). The climate is in general mild, the spring early and kindly, the summer always warm, and sometimes very hot (e), the winter generally rainy with but little frost or snow, and when these happen they are seldom of any long continuance; less subject to violent winds and sudden changes of weather than many of the other islands; but then a great part of it being low, as there are many standing waters and some marshes about them, the air is humid, and in comparison of some neighbouring islands not so wholesome (f).

THE face of the island is rendered irregular by a multitude of little hills, but it can be called mountainous only at the

(z) Political survey of Britain, vol. i. p. 505.— (a) Geograph. lib. viii.— (b) Baxter, in Glossar. Antiq. Britan. p. 193. observes, that though the inaccuracy of the transcribers, the first letter of proper names is frequently omitted, (probably with a design of embellishing or depicting them in red after the book was finished) whence he conceives that the Mull of Cantire, which in Ptolemy is called Epidium, should be Pepidium from its resemblance to a pipe called in the antient British language Papydh, and that this Island as manifestly deriving its name from that promontory should be Pepidium or pepidiorum Insula. The name in the antient language for an island was Oilen, Elan, or Ilen, and in old books this country is called Yle, Isle, in latin Ila.— (c) As lying very happily for trade to all parts of Britain and Ireland, within a week's sail of France, Spain, and Italy, and open to a commerce with the West Indies.— (d) Taken from Timothy Pont's large map of this island.— (e) As the strongest proof of this, let us consider what Mr. Drummond, formerly his Majesty's Consul at Aleppo, tells us in his travels p. 160, 161. of his own knowledge. Having mentioned the turning of a beautiful green caterpillar of a sooty black, by the bite of a Tarantula, he proceeds thus, "The same effect I have observed upon the human body, from the bite of the vipers, which are peculiar to the island of Ila in Scotland. Wherever the venom spreads the skin of the most beautiful girl will be changed into a dusky brown colour like that of the adder. A phenomenon which I can authenticate from my own observation." From a climate which gives such venom to vipers as is experienced only in the warmest countries, we may rationally in regard to fertility, expect similar effects. (f) From an account of this island, communicated by a gentleman who resides in it.

north and north-east extremities (*g*). It is indented by two large inlets of the sea, one on the west, the other at the southern extremity, which enter so deep into the land as to be but two miles asunder (*h*). It is in length from south to north about twenty-four miles, and sixteen, some say eighteen, from east to west in breadth, near fourscore miles in circumference (*i*). It is larger than the isle of Man, little inferior to the whole province of Zealand, contains nearly as many acres as the county of Middlesex, and is very little less than the island of Scio in the Archipelago (*k*). The soil in general is deep and good, so that many are of opinion, that there is little or nothing that grows in any part of Britain, that might not, with proper management, be produced here (*l*). There is particularly a rich valley that runs from east to west six or eight miles long and four broad, very fertile in itself, well cultivated, and well inhabited. Besides this the sea coast in general, except a few miles on the north-east side of the sound of Illa, is very flat and fruitful (*m*). They have enough of free stone, and lime-stone in vast abundance, rich in lead ore, for which it was famous more than two hundred years ago (*n*). Wheat grows here very well, but for want of water or windmills, for both which however no country can be more fit, they do not raise a great deal (*o*). Barley, rye, oats, and peas, they have in abundance, hemp and flax in considerable quantities. All kind of garden stuff in plenty, and where properly attended to, in great perfection (*p*). Timber would grow very well, for there are natural

* (*g*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 239.—(*h*) Into the latter of these, the two (for the size of this country) great rivers hereafter mentioned, discharge their waters.—(*i*) *Less. Regionum et insularum Scotiæ Descript.* p. 35. *Camdeni Britan.* p. 848. Martin's western islands, p. 239.—(*k*) In Templeman's survey, pl. ii. Middlesex is said to contain 298 sq. miles; pl. vi. Zealand is computed 303 sq. miles; pl. xxix. Scio is estimated 300. Illa, allowing for the inlets of the sea comprehends something more than 300 sq. miles. In these points we speak from computations, that very possibly may not be very exact, but if there should be errors, these when discovered will not probably affect the proportions.—(*l*) The exportations from hence shew that hitherto their improvements have been with a view to immediate and adjacent markets, but as their funds encrease there is little room to doubt they will extend their commerce, and this of course will lead them to make the best use of so good a country, by expanding and augmenting their improvements.—(*m*) Buchan. *Rerum Scoticarum Hist.* lib. i. Martin's account of the western islands, p. 239. 240. MS. account before mentioned.—(*n*) Boethii *Scotor. Regni Descript.* whose words are these, *cum frumenti ferax, tum metallorum dives.*—(*o*) It might be of advantage to the inhabitants if these mines were leased, together with a tract of land for the supply of wood to strangers; for this by encreasing the number of people, must necessarily augment the consumption of provisions, which they must furnish and at the same time the strangers would instruct them in many things to their advantage. Since the writing this I am informed the thing has been done, and has been productive of these good effects.—(*p*) The description of the country renders this evident, and shews at the same time, that they ought to begin their improvements by planting timber.

copfes in many parts of the ifle (*q*). It is on all hands allowed to be much better improved than the reft of the iflands, and yet it is believed, that there is not above one third cultivated, of the land that would admit of cultivation to profit (*r*), and indeed the extent of the country, compared with the number of the inhabitants, gives a great probability to this opinion.

THERE is in this ifland the greateft plenty of freſh water, indeed to a degree of redundance. Springs every where, all wholeſome, and ſome reputed medicinal (*s*). Such a number of freſh water lakes that ſome have reckoned them at near a hundred (*t*). Amongſt theſe, ſome are of ſuch an extent as to hold ſmall iflands in them, and in many of theſe ifles there are ruins of the antient fortrefſes (*u*), which affords one argument amongſt many that this ifland was in former times much more populous. There are ſeveral very fine running ſtreams and rivulets. The Laggan or Lyſa may well be ſtiled a river, as it runs ſixteen miles, and another river runs almoſt parallel to it between twelve and thirteen; theſe abound in ſalmon, trout, and other kinds of excellent fiſh, as the lakes do in pike, eels, &c. (*w*). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that loch Guynord, on the weſt ſide of the ifland, becomes in a manner dry at low water, ſo that it would not be very difficult to recover ſome thouſands of acres from the ſea (*x*), but as there is no want of land, or even of good land at preſent, it will not be expedient to attempt any thing of this kind, till the country is better peopled (*y*), and then a fine artificial port might be made at its entrance, and by preſerving a paſſage for the river Guynord, it may ſerve as a back water to keep this port always clean which would be an improvement indeed (*z*)! In this ifland all the

(*q*) Martin's account of the weſtern iflands, p. 243. MS. relation before cited.—(*r*) This certainly does not proceed from any repugnance in the inhabitants to labour, or any inaptitude for mechanic employments, but from the want of a rational proſpect of ſucceſs to ſtimulate their endeavours. It is generally held that the number of people is in proportion to the means of ſubſiſtance; it is much more certain, that the progreſs of induſtry always correſponds with the ſecurity of receiving encouragement.—(*s*) There are many ſuch reputed ſalutary ſprings in this and indeed in moſt of the weſtern iflands. This opinion is founded on ſuperſtitious traditions, but it may be true nevertheleſs in many caſes. The monks were not ignorant of the virtues of mineral waters, though from motives obvious enough, they choſe to aſſign ſuch cauſes as might ſuit their intereſts. But an accurate inquiry into the reality of thoſe cures, and in conſequence of that a chemical examination of the waters, would be in many reſpects uſeful.—(*t*) So it is aſſerted in the relation before mentioned.—(*u*) Martin's deſcription of the weſtern iflands, p. 241.—(*w*) See Pont's large map of this ifland.—(*x*) This improvement has been ſuggeſted by the MS. relation before mentioned.—(*y*) The number of hands requiſite to be employed in ſuch an undertaking, the great expence with which it would be attended, and many other reaſons that might be mentioned, all render it neceſſary, that before ſuch an expensive project as this is carried into execution, it ſhould be, together with all the conſequences that may attend it, attentively and maturely conſidered.—(*z*) A good port on this ſide of the ifland, when the inhabitants are become numerous, would be of infinite advantage to their commerce.

fowl wild and tame that are to be found in any of the western islands abound, and amongst these there are many that bear a very high price in other countries, and are esteemed the greatest delicacies (*a*). Their horses and black cattle, in comparison of their neighbours, are larger and more valuable, being better fed, and having more care taken of them (*b*). The same may be said of their sheep; they have also plenty of goats, swine, and hares, some deer still remaining, of which they had formerly abundance, with all sorts of fine sea fish upon their coasts, except herring, which do not of late frequent this island (*c*).

THE inhabitants are in general a stout, well made, well looking people, very active and laborious in cultivating their grounds, bold hardy seamen, very capable and well inclined to manufactures and commerce, and with a very little assistance would make no inconsiderable figure. As it is, they carry on no despicable trade from their town of Killarow, on Loch Dale, which is their only harbour (*d*); in black cattle, cheese, butter, barley, oats, flour, malt, and malt spirits. They likewise make a great deal of kelp and fern ashes. The linen manufacture prevails amongst them, and the poor people commonly pay their rent in thread (*e*).

It has been already observed that in antient times this was the chief of the islands, where Macdonald, lord, and who sometimes assumed the title of king of the isles, kept his court (*f*.) in the castle of Falinghan or Finlagan, built upon an island in loch Guryen, Guirm, or Gurim, the ruins of which, and of the barracks for his life guards, are yet visible (*g*). On the round island (*h*) in the same lake, which is about three miles in compass, and communicates with the sea, sat his court of justice, consisting of fourteen persons, to which court there were appeals from all the other islands (*i*). On the east side of the island he had another great fortress called Dun-owaig (*k*), and innumera-

(*a*) For instance, the black cock and grey hen, the ptarmigan or white partridge, the corn-creeper or land-rail.—(*b*) Hence there is good reason to believe, that in all the other islands, if their pastures were improved, as they might easily be and not overstocked, they would have as large cattle as in other countries, and when fully inhabited, so that they stood in need of these cattle for home consumption, their hides and tallow only, would be then of as great value as the diminutive beasts they breed at present.—(*c*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 240. MS. relation of this island.—(*d*) This port, to which there are some vessels belonging, has deep water only in the middle, so that ships do not sail within half a mile of the coast on either side.—(*e*) One may discern from hence that the seeds of commerce are already sown, and only a little attention and encouragement needful to bring them up.—(*f*) These Lords of the isles descended from Summerled prince of Argyll, who in right of his wife, daughter to Olave King of Man, laid claim to the sovereignty of all the isles, A. D. 1156.—(*g*) Fordun Scotchchron. lib. ii. cap 10. Insula magna, quæ dicitur ILE, ubi dominus insularum duas habet Mansiones, et castrum Downowak.—(*h*) In Mr. Pont's map this is called Ilen na Kouihexlep.—(*i*) Martin's description of the western islands p. 241. where he says the chief justice had the eleventh part of the matter in dispute for his fee.—(*k*) We have already seen that it is mentioned by Fordun, and the ruins shew it was once a place of strength.

ble other places of strength over all the isle, which with many churches several fortified caves, stone monuments, though rough and barbarous (*l*), are additional proofs that Ila was in those days much better peopled; if so, they must have required more subsistence, and of course it was either better cultivated or a greater part of it cultivated than at this day.

EXCLUSIVE of those improvements which gradually may and indeed certainly will be made, some may be pointed out which would be of infinite benefit to this country (*m*). In the first place the raising of timber, though not an immediate, would in time be both a certain and a very great advantage, as it would furnish them with the means of building their own fishing boats, barks, and even larger vessels; serving besides for the construction of mills and other mechanic uses (*n*). If this was once done it would facilitate the working of their lead mines (*o*), and would without question lead to the enquiry whether they have really copper (*p*) in that island, and of which there is more certainty, to the collecting of quicksilver, which we have been assured has been found in several of their wells (*q*). But the most practicable improvement (*r*) is that of fishing for cod and other white fish, which may be taken in prodigious quantities on three great banks (*s*), which lie at no great distance. The first between this island and the isle of Giga on the south-east; the second in the ocean some leagues to the westward; and the third to the north-west between Ila and Collonsa (*t*). There are at present but two or three parishes (*u*); all the inhabitants are protestants, of whom all the better sort speak English, and the common people Erse or Galic (*w*). A very considerable part of the island belongs to the crown, and there is a receiver appointed of its rents. Mr. Campbell of

(*l*) We do not find any remains of Druidical superstition here, unless some of the high stones, afterwards turned into crosses, might be originally such.—(*m*) It is not from any opinion that these thoughts are new, that they are inserted here, but from a persuasion, that till they are carried into execution, they ought to be produced to public view on every proper occasion.—(*n*) The uses of timber are infinite, and properly cultivated in well chosen situations, and properly preserved, would become the source of innumerable improvements.—(*o*) Hector Boyse (Boethius) almost 200 years ago, attributed the neglect of their mines to the inhabitants being in want of wood.—(*p*) Sir Alexander Murray affirms there are very rich mines, not only of lead and copper, but also of iron ore, which last had been wrought in his time, by Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, Esq;—(*q*) MS. Relation of this island. It is also asserted by Sir Alexander Murray, and certainly deserves attention.—(*r*) This is meant under the present circumstances of this island, and which undertaken properly and pursued with spirit could not fail of success.—(*s*) On these banks are prodigious quantities of cod, ling, mackerel, turbot, pollock, and other kinds of excellent and valuable fish.—(*t*) There is the utmost probability that if a fishery was once well established, many more such banks might be discovered.—(*u*) There are the ruins of many churches remaining, and the names of some have survived even their ruins.—(*w*) We may consider this as a circumstance that by hindering communication and correspondence of course retards improvements.

Shawfield

Shawfield is the greatest proprietor, but besides him there are several others (*x*). The number of inhabitants in this, the most populous of all those islands, amounts only to between six and seven thousand men, women and children (*y*). On the coasts of Isla, more especially on the east side, there are many islands, some on the north, in the sound between it and Jura. These are none of them very large, but they are nevertheless of different sizes, making about thirty in the whole, which if the country were fully inhabited, might be susceptible of many improvements (*z*).

(*x*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 244. MS. relation of this island—(*y*) Upon the isle of Scio, though subject to the oppressive government of the Turks, there are 120000 inhabitants.—(*z*) White fish might be commodiously salted and dried upon, and glass, salt, and soap-works erected in, these islands.

J U R A.

WE come next to the island of Jura, as to the etymology of which name there are very different opinions (*a*). It seems to be in some degree certain that it was antiently called Dura (*b*). The plainest derivation of its present denomination and the most likely to be true, is that it was called so from the yew trees that grew in it, as the yew tree in the language of this country is named Jur (*c*). This island has to the north the small isle of Scarba, from which it is divided by a narrow strait to be hereafter mentioned. Beyond this lies Mull at the distance of between four and five leagues. It is separated on the east from Knapdale and other parts of Argyleshire, by what is called the sound of Jura, having on the side of the continent many small islands, and which where narrowest is five miles broad, and in other places more. The islands of Colonsay and Oronsay, neither of them inconsiderable, lie on the west, at the distance of somewhat more than four leagues; and the sound of Isla, which has been before described, separates it on the south from that island (*d*).

THE climate is generally mild or rather warm, but the air is exceedingly pure, so that some have esteemed it the very healthiest spot in the dominions of Great Britain. Surprising instances of longevity are produced in support of this opinion; and which perhaps is a proof equally strong, it is affirmed that in upwards of thirty years no woman had died in child bearing (*e*). The causes assigned for this extraordinary salubrity of the climate are three, the streams of fresh air blowing daily from the ridge of high mountains running through the midst of the isle; great plenty every where of excellent running water; and the general temperance of the inhabitants, in the midst of plenty (*ee*). It is thought that with proper care, almost any thing would grow in this country, and the few experiments that have been made, contribute not a little to the support of this opinion.

THE east coast of this island, through its whole extent, is remarkably plain and fertile, but the interior of the island is ve-

(*a*) The learned Baxter takes Jura to be a contraction or corruption of Jau Rag, i. e. Jovis Regis, the island of Jupiter the king. Gloss. Antiq. Britan. p. 145, 146.—(*b*) Fordun, Schotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. Buchanan says in the old gothic language, dura signified a deer.—(*c*) Sibbaldi Naturalis Hist. Scotiæ, lib. i. p. ii. cap. xix. p. 51.—(*d*) Mr. Pont's compared with the best modern maps of this island.—(*e*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 232, 233.—(*ee*) These will appear no improbable grounds, to whoever consults Hippocrates, in his treatise on air, water, and situation.

ry mountainous, many of these mountains rising to a great height, and amongst these, two which are very useful sea marks distinguished by the name of the Paps of Jura (*f*). Its length from north to south, is full twenty-four miles, its breadth, from east to west, nearly seven, and about sixty in circumference (*g*). In point of size, it is nearly equal to Malta, Barbadoes, or the isle of Wight (*h*), but very unlike them in other respect, which arises chiefly from the want of cultivation. For here as in the rest of these isles, the industry of the many is restrained from want of money, and amongst the few who comparatively speaking are rich, there is a want of enterprize, and no great degree of public spirit (*i*).

In respect to the soil it is all along the east coast composed of clay, mixed with sand, and under a very indifferent management is very fertile. In the heart of the island, and on the west side, the land is commonly cold, spouty, and much overgrown with moss. In the vallies however, there is a deep black mould, and on the hills great quantities of heath, intermixed with a very nutritive kind of grass (*k*). In these mountains likewise there have been found several veins of iron ore which mixed with that from Lancashire, has been wrought to advantage, and of late they have discovered a valuable quarry of slate (*l*). There are still considerable woods in different parts of the island. The flat country produces barley, oats, rye, hemp, and flax, in no inconsiderable quantities. Wheat has been tried; and it succeeds very well, but as they have no mills, they are not solicitous about raising it (*m*). On the hills there are many medicinal herbs, with the virtues of which the people are well acquainted, and there are likewise some shrubs, and moss growing on the rocks, of which they make use in dyeing (*n*). They burn great quantities of sea wreck into kelp, and make

(*f*) Buchan *Rerum Scoticar. Hist. lib. i.* Martin's description of the western isles, p. 231. Sacheverell's voyage to I-columb-kill, p. 126.—(*g*) In these dimensions agree all the accounts antient or modern.—(*h*) Allowing for the lakes, Jura, contains as much (though not so good) land as any of these islands.—(*i*) This narrow disposition has been detrimental to private property, for if mines had been wrought, woods improved, or fisheries established, every estate in Jura would have risen in value.—(*k*) Martin's description of the western isles, p. 235.—(*l*) Sir Alexander Murray's tracts, MS. account of this island.—(*m*) We may from this instance discern, that no hasty conclusion should be drawn from the actual wants of a country, against its soil or climate, which as in the present case, may have all the powers of production, if the proper means (in consequence of adequate encouragement) were employed for that purpose, and this adds to the probability, that these islands were formerly, when better cultivated, fruitful in many things not found in them at present.—(*n*) There is good reason to believe, that if a person expert in botany and the several uses to which vegetables may be applied, was sent to visit the western isles, he might make some useful and profitable discoveries, and at the same time communicate instructions that might in process of time prove very advantageous to the inhabitants.

also some profit by their fern ashes (*o*). However not one half of the profitable land in this isle, of which it is thought there are upwards of forty thousand English acres (*p*), is cultivated, which is chiefly owing to causes that have been already mentioned, and above all to their having but very little commerce (*q*).

JURA is admirably well watered in every respect, abounding with fine springs, and amongst these one which is very remarkable, called Toubir in Lechkin, i. e. the well in the stony descent, the water of which is said to be near one half lighter than any other in the island (*r*). They have likewise several fresh water lochs, some of them of pretty large extent, but not near so many as in Iffa. These abound in trout, pike, eels, and other sorts of fish, as also with vast quantities of water fowl. There are likewise abundance of beautiful rivulets that run from the mountains, not fewer than ten, on the east side only of the island, four or five of which are well stored with salmon and other fine fish, and their rapid streams, which roll with a full current to the sea, might be made very useful in driving mills (*s*). Loch Tarbat enters on the west side of the island very deep into the land, but it is rocky, crowded with small islands, and not navigable even for boats (*t*). On the east side is the bay of Meil, which is but an indifferent port, with several islands of different sizes at the mouth of it, but there are roads with good anchoring ground on both sides of the island (*u*).

THERE are in this country great plenty of all sorts of tame fowl, but in the hills a still greater abundance of all kinds of

(*o*) This also shews, that in respect to commodities, for which they have a known and certain market, industry in the inhabitants is not wanting.—

(*p*) Perhaps it may be said with equal truth, that even the moiety which is cultivated is not improved half as much as it might be.—(*q*) As few strangers come hither, and the inhabitants have little correspondence, they cannot have clear notions as to the choice of proper objects, to make their labour and industry turn to a just account, and which is still worse, supposing them to be instructed in these points, they have not, as in the isle of Bute, any certain or regular means for exporting their commodities or manufactures.—(*r*) Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 234. He says the salmon in the river Niffa (by others called Lyfa) into which this spring falls, are better than in any river in the island. It is likely there may be some exaggeration in this matter, but still an inquiry how much there is of truth would be in many respects useful.—(*s*) The uses of water mills are so numerous, and the profits arising from them so great, that if this single improvement was introduced, it could not but be very beneficial to the inhabitants, and to many others. As it would be easy to construct them in a country where timber, stone, and iron are every where to be met with, as well as so many streams convenient for the purpose.

—(*t*) It is not impossible that with some expence, under the direction of an able engineer, an artificial port might be made in this place.—(*u*) The want of commerce is such a capital defect in an island, as not to be balanced by any internal advantages, but then there are scarce any islands from which, by industry and art, this defect may not be removed.

wild fowl, and especially what is called the Black Game, than in any other of the islands. In the mountains also, there are still a considerable number of red deer, for which this island was formerly very famous (*w*). They are of a large size, and are esteemed excellent venison. They have likewise black cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and rabbits; but, which is very remarkable, they have not either hares or foxes (*x*). The sea coast abounds with all sorts of white and shell fish, and their barren rocky islands, by affording them plenty of seal, and prodigious quantities of sea ware, are in some degree useful, instead of being absolute incumbrances.

THE inhabitants in general are a stout, well proportioned, active people, of a brown or rather dark complexion, resembling in that respect the people in the southern countries of Europe (*y*). They have amongst them only the common and necessary mechanic employments, and scarce any manufacture, except linen and coarse cloth, and these serve chiefly for their own use (*z*). Their husbandry, the quality of their soil and quantity of manure considered, is but indifferent, and the same may be said of their fishing, which is owing to the small demand, or rather from their want of a proper vent for their produce, which with their great facility of finding subsistence, and their moderate manner of living, makes them easy and satisfied with their condition, and less solicitous than otherwise they would be to render it better. In a word, the want of encouragement to industry, rather than a natural idleness, keeps them in a low but contented state; and the same defect in correspondence, which deprives them of the means of supplying, renders them less sensible of their wants (*a*). For in other respects they are courteous, hospitable, and very ingenious, so that with a small intermixture of foreigners, and the suitable means of exerting their faculties for their own emolument, their situation would be speedily and effectually changed, as, for want of those assistances, it has continued for ages in much the same state in which we have described it.

THEY live in small hamlets, dispersed for the most part along the east side of the island, there being nothing that deserves the name of a town any where, which is owing to their

(*w*) Buchanan. *Rerum Scotticarum Hist.* lib. i.—(*x*) MS. account of this island. This is the more extraordinary, as both hares and foxes are common in *Ila*. The discovering the natural cause of this would not be the exercise of a useless curiosity, as in all probability it arises from some (it may be mineral) effluvia from the soil, which could it be reduced to a certainty would be a point of consequence.—(*y*) Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 239. He also remarks that none of the inhabitants were ever known to be mad.—(*z*) MS. account of this island.—(*a*) The same observation may with equal justice be applied to the inhabitants of many other islands.

want of a good port, and not being in circumstances to supply the defects of nature by art in that poor haven which they have. There is, as far as our information reaches, at present but one parish, that of Killearn, which comprehending also the isles of Colonsay, Oronsay, and Scarba, is consequently of a very large extent (*b*). The people in general speak the Galic or Erse language, but the gentlemen amongst them speak and understand English very well. The number of people upon this isle amounts to about twelve hundred (*c*). It lies in the shire of Argyle, and part of it is the Duke's property. Mr. Archibald Campbell, who is usually stiled the Bailiff of Jura, is the most considerable proprietor, but there are several others (*d*). It is a thing much to be wished, that some means were found to furnish the ordinary people with employment, that might enable them to live comfortably by their labour, and then no doubt a great part of their youth would incline to remain in their own country, and improve it, instead of quitting it to seek a living abroad, which in their present situation it is very natural for them to do, and by which, themselves and their posterity are too often lost to the British Empire, and carry their genius and their industry to the support of foreign states (*e*). A circumstance ever to be regretted!

THOUGH this island is susceptible of fewer than Isla, yet some, and those no inconsiderable, improvements might most certainly be made there (*f*). In the first place if their mountains were thoroughly examined, by persons of integrity and intelligence, there is little reason to doubt, that veins of different metals might be found, of which those who have accidentally visited Jura, have declared they met with many probable indications (*g*). Next, it would be expedient to preserve, to extend, and to take due care of their woods, which might turn to the profit of the inhabitants, by inviting adventurers to set up furnaces for melting the ore found in Isla,

(*b*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 239.—(*c*) MS. account of this island.—(*d*) Martin's MS. Account, Present State of North Britain.—(*e*) Some may undervalue this loss; but whoever attentively considers the salubrity of this isle, the fecundity and the longevity of its inhabitants, and compares this with the small number of people, must be convinced that in the space of a century some thousands must migrate from hence, and of these some hundreds must be lost to Britain.—(*f*) So sad a country was never seen, as that skill and industry could not improve, much less so fertile a soil as this, and an isle so well situated.—(*g*) This is said on the authority of Sir Alexander Murray, Mr. Main, and others well acquainted with this branch of knowledge; and though in its present circumstances, discouraging difficulties may occur, yet if upon due inquiry any valuable metals should be discovered, or even rich veins of copper or iron, it would encourage adventurers (which would be an extraordinary benefit to the country) to go thither to work them.

where they have not so much wood (*h*). The making oil from the fat of seals, and the livers of those immense quantities of small fish, that are and may be taken upon their coasts, would prove a lucrative employment for their women and children (*i*), as is at present practised in Shetland, as this is a commodity which will always find a market, and would be a saving of so much, as it would produce to the mother country.

THE narrow strait or sound of Cory Vrekan, or Cori Brechan, which is somewhat more than a mile broad, lies to the north of this island, and separates it from that of Scarba (*k*). The current that sets through this sound, is and has been for ages famous for the rage and impetuosity with which it runs, so that it is absolutely impassable by any vessel, except some few hours in the four-and-twenty, when it is so smooth and still, that both large barks and small boats pass without either difficulty or danger (*l*). As to the island of Scarba, it is somewhat more than four miles long, and in most places above a mile broad (*m*). It is exceedingly rocky and mountainous, so that it is but very thinly inhabited, though to the full as healthy as Jura (*n*); as wild and savage a place as this seems to be, there is one improvement of which it seems very capable, which is, that of breeding goats, which may be brought from Switzerland, Barbary, or the Levant, which would furnish considerable gains to the inhabitants, provided they were instructed, as they might easily be, in the art of manufacturing their skins, into Shamoy, Morocco, and Cordovan leather, for which they have all, or at least most of the necessary materials, in the island (*o*). This may seem a very extraordinary, and to some a very chimerical project; but if instead of lying where it does, it was situated on the coast of Holland,

—(*b*) This would cost little pains or expence, and is so earnestly recommended, because no future improvement can take place, to which this will not be essentially necessary.—(*i*) So much is this commodity in demand, that within these few years it has risen in its value very considerably.—(*k*) This sound is said to derive its name from one Brechan, son to a King of Denmark, who being lost here, and his body thrown upon the north coast of Jura, was interred in a cave, in which an altar and a monument were erected, and are said to be still remaining. The rapidity of the current is mentioned by Fordun and Boethius.—(*l*) Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 236, 237, 238.—(*m*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. says the island of Scarba was fifteen miles long. Buchanan. Rerum Scotticarum Hist. lib. i.—(*n*) A woman who lived to 140, and retained the perfect use of her senses to the last, died there about two years before Dr. Martin came to the island.—(*o*) The chamois from the Alps, might be easily obtained, as might also the Barbary goat, and though with more difficulty the Natolian (for they have been brought hither both male and female, and have bred here) which have hair as fine as silk. In one of the Cape de Verd islands the inhabitants fatten carefully their old goats, and send vast quantities of their suet or fat annually to Lisbon.

there is no great doubt that it would be carried into execution (*p*); and why the Dutch should make so much of their islands and we so little of ours, is a political question, that very well deserves discussion.

M U L L.

THIS island is believed to be the Maleos of Ptolemy (*a*), and the very learned Camden (*b*) thinks, it was not unknown to Pliny. If we credit another ingenious author, it was in times of high antiquity consecrated to the Goddess Minerva (*c*). On the North it has that part of the shire of Argyle, which is called Ardnamurchan (*d*), at the distance of more than a league in some places, and in others not above two miles. It is separated on the east from another part of the same shire, which is called Morvern (*e*), by what is called the sound of Mull, and has on that side likewise the pleasant and fertile island of Lismore (*f*). On the south lie the islands of Scarba and Jura, at the distance of about four leagues and on the west, at the distance of eight or nine leagues, the islands of Tirey and Coll (*g*), and beyond these the wide Atlantic Ocean.

Q₃

THE

(*p*) It is more than a century since the Dutch brought sheep from the East Indies into the island of Texel, where that valuable breed has continued and proved a considerable and a continual source of profit to the inhabitants. These sheep are of a large size, bear a large fleece (the wool not so fine as ours) and their ewes bring four lambs every year.—(*a*) Geograph. lib. viii. cap. 2.—(*b*) Britan. p. 848. where he observes that in Plin. lib. iv. c. 16. the common editions read, “Reliquarum nulla cxxv. mill. circuitu amplior proditur.” The old edition printed at Venice has “Reliquarum Melle xxv. mil. pass. amplior proditur.” According to the first, no one of the rest was reported to be above one hundred and twenty-five miles in circuit. The sense of the latter, that among the rest, Melle (Mull) is said to be the largest by twenty-five miles.—(*c*) Glossar. Antiquit. Britan. p. 177. He supposes Maleos to be written for Malenos, which he resolves into the British words Malen Inis, i. e. Minerva’s Island.—(*d*) The barony of Ardnamurchan runs from the main land into the sea, from east to west, about thirty miles in length.—(*e*) This country lies directly opposite, and makes the east side of the sound of Mull, hardly any where more than a league broad.—() This is a very beautiful and pleasant island, abounding in arable and pasture lands, for its extent being eight miles long and two broad. It was the property of the Bishop of Argyl (Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10.) well cultivated and well inhabited. It is said to have in it veins, and those in appearance promising of different metals.—(*g*) Tirey is about ten miles long and four broad, and is allowed to be, in regard to corn as well as pasture, the most fertile of all these isles; but being low and flat, the inhabitants are very much affected with agues. Coll is ten miles in length,

where they have not so much wood (*h*). The making oil from the fat of seals, and the livers of those immense quantities of small fish, that are and may be taken upon their coasts, would prove a lucrative employment for their women and children (*i*), as is at present practised in Shetland, as this is a commodity which will always find a market, and would be a saving of so much, as it would produce to the mother country.

THE narrow strait or sound of Cory Vrekan, or Cori Brechan, which is somewhat more than a mile broad, lies to the north of this island, and separates it from that of Scarba (*k*). The current that sets through this sound, is and has been for ages famous for the rage and impetuosity with which it runs, so that it is absolutely impassable by any vessel, except some few hours in the four-and-twenty, when it is so smooth and still, that both large barks and small boats pass without either difficulty or danger (*l*). As to the island of Scarba, it is somewhat more than four miles long, and in most places above a mile broad (*m*). It is exceedingly rocky and mountainous, so that it is but very thinly inhabited, though to the full as healthy as Jura (*n*); as wild and savage a place as this seems to be, there is one improvement of which it seems very capable, which is, that of breeding goats, which may be brought from Switzerland, Barbary, or the Levant, which would furnish considerable gains to the inhabitants, provided they were instructed, as they might easily be, in the art of manufacturing their skins, into Shamoy, Morocco, and Cordovan leather, for which they have all, or at least most of the necessary materials, in the island (*o*). This may seem a very extraordinary, and to some a very chimerical project; but if instead of lying where it does, it was situated on the coast of Holland,

—(*h*) This would cost little pains or expence, and is so earnestly recommended, because no future improvement can take place, to which this will not be essentially necessary.—(*i*) So much is this commodity in demand, that within these few years it has risen in its value very considerably.—(*k*) This sound is said to derive its name from one Brechan, son to a King of Denmark, who being lost here, and his body thrown upon the north coast of Jura, was interred in a cave, in which an altar and a monument were erected, and are said to be still remaining. The rapidity of the current is mentioned by Fordun and Boethius.—(*l*) Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 236, 237, 238.—(*m*) Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. says the island of Scarba was fifteen miles long. Buchanan. Rerum Scotticarum Hist. lib. i.—(*n*) A woman who lived to 146, and retained the perfect use of her senses to the last, died there about two years before Dr. Martin came to the island.—(*o*) The chamois from the Alps, might be easily obtained, as might also the Barbary goat, and though with more difficulty the Natolian (for they have been brought hither both male and female, and have bred here) which have hair as fine as silk. In one of the Cape de Verd islands the inhabitants fatten carefully their old goats, and send vast quantities of their suet or fat annually to Lisbon.

there is no great doubt that it would be carried into execution (*p*); and why the Dutch should make so much of their islands and we so little of ours, is a political question, that very well deserves discussion.

M U L L.

THIS island is believed to be the Maleos of Ptolemy (*a*), and the very learned Camden (*b*) thinks, it was not unknown to Pliny. If we credit another ingenious author, it was in times of high antiquity consecrated to the Goddess Minerva (*c*). On the North it has that part of the shire of Argyle, which is called Ardnamurchan (*d*), at the distance of more than a league in some places, and in others not above two miles. It is separated on the east from another part of the same shire, which is called Morvern (*e*), by what is called the sound of Mull, and has on that side likewise the pleasant and fertile island of Lismore (*f*). On the south lie the islands of Scarba and Jura, at the distance of about four leagues and on the west, at the distance of eight or nine leagues, the islands of Tirey and Coll (*g*), and beyond these the wide Atlantic Ocean.

Q 3

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(*p*) It is more than a century since the Dutch brought sheep from the East Indies into the island of Texel, where that valuable breed has continued and proved a considerable and a continual source of profit to the inhabitants. These sheep are of a large size, bear a large fleece (the wool not so fine as ours) and their ewes bring four lambs every year.—(*a*) Geograph. lib. viii. cap. 2.—(*b*) Britan. p. 848. where he observes that in Plin. lib. iv. c. 16. the common editions read, “Reliquarum nulla cxxv. mill. circuitu amplior proditur.” The old edition printed at Venice has “Reliquarum Melle xxv. mil. pass. amplior proditur.” According to the first, no one of the rest was reported to be above one hundred and twenty-five miles in circuit. The sense of the latter, that among the rest, Melle (Mull) is said to be the largest by twenty-five miles.—(*c*) Glossar. Antiquit. Britan. p. 177. He supposes Maleos to be written for Malenos, which he resolves into the British words Malen Inis, i. e. Minerva’s Island.—(*d*) The barony of Ardnamurchan runs from the main land into the sea, from east to west, about thirty miles in length.—(*e*) This country lies directly opposite, and makes the east side of the sound of Mull, hardly any where more than a league broad.—() This is a very beautiful and pleasant island, abounding in arable and pasture lands, for its extent being eight miles long and two broad. It was the property of the Bishop of Argyl (Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10.) well cultivated and well inhabited. It is said to have in it veins, and those in appearance promising of different metals.—(*g*) Tirey is about ten miles long and four broad, and is allowed to be, in regard to corn as well as pasture, the most fertile of all these isles; but being low and flat, the inhabitants are very much affected with agues. Coll is ten miles in length,

THE climate of Mull is not very favourable; from the beginning of April to the end of May there is generally fair weather, but attended with cold northerly winds. From that time, to the middle of July, the weather is pretty warm, and in most seasons tolerably dry. But from the middle of that month to the end of October, it generally rains incessantly. In the winter the inhabitants are more exposed to wind and rain than to frost or snow, either of which seldom happens, and when they do, are not severe or of any long continuance (*h*).

IN its aspect, the isle of Mull is very rough and mountainous, intersected on all sides by the sea, but more especially on the west, where two large bays enter so very deep into the land, that there is scarce any place in it full four miles distant from salt water (*i*). It is twenty-four computed miles from north to south, and not less from east to west (*k*). In respect to size, it is equal to the counties of Fife and Kinross in North Britain, larger than the county of Bedford, and nearly equal to that of Monmouth in South Britain, very little less than the isle of Rhodes, of much the same extent with that of Cephalonia, which belongs to the republic of Venice, and to the island of Amboyna in the East Indies (*l*).

WHAT has been said of the climate is equally true of the soil, the far greatest part of which is very indifferent. In the south west corner which is stiled Ross or Rosy, the ground is plain, low, and tolerably fertile. We may say the same of the north east part which is called Morinish, as for the rest, it is in general poor, cold, and wet (*m*). The interior of the island is exceedingly mountainous, and amongst these mountains, some (particularly Bienne mor, i. e. the great mountain) are steep and of a great height (*n*). There are some woods yet remaining, and many coppices. The grass is in general but indifferent, and black cattle can find little or no subsistence in the hills in the winter (*o*). But these mountains are however not totally useless, as they yield immense quantities of turf or peat, which supply the inhabitants with fuel.

length, and three in breadth, higher land and more wholesome, though less fruitful than Tirey. These islands are distant from each other about a league, with the small isle of Gunna between them. They are remarkably populous, and it is believed an advantageous fishery might be established on their coasts, where cod and ling of a superior size and flavour to those taken on the shores of the continent, are caught in great numbers.—(*b*) MS. relation from a gentleman resident in the Western Islands.—(*i*) Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 251, 252.—(*k*) See Pont's map and all the accounts of this isle ancient and modern.—(*l*) Templeman's Survey of the Globe. Plates, 2, 3, 29.—(*m*) MS. relation of this island.—(*n*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 250.—(*o*) MS. Account of Mull and the larger Western Isles.

Oats and barley grow here, but neither of them are esteemed excellent in their kind (*p*). Hemp has not been tried, and flax, which otherwise would grow well, is frequently rotted by the great rains which but too commonly fall in harvest. Potatoes succeed in general very well, and indeed all kinds of garden stuff, and fruit trees thrive when properly planted and assiduously cultivated (*q*). But there is no great spirit of industry, as appears from their not producing more corn in all the island, than will suffice the small number of its inhabitants for nine months in the year; by their never having made any proper search for ore in their mountains, notwithstanding the casual discovery of some very promising veins of lead; and as little has been done in respect to coal, though it discovers itself in two or three places, and those too are all within a very small distance of the sea (*r*).

THE island, in general, is exceedingly well watered, with many fine limpid springs, some of which are medicinal (*s*). Many rivulets run on all sides from the mountains; there are some pretty large fresh water lochs which abound in trout, eel, and other fish, and there are salmon in some of their rivers, as well as pearl muscles (*t*). At the south west end, where the land is mossy, the water is also tinged thereby, and not so good. Bloody Bay affords a harbour for small vessels, which sometimes go into Loch Buy in the herring season (*u*). The bay behind the castle of Dowart, is also frequented by small vessels. But Toubir-Mary Bay, that is, the bay of the blessed Virgin's well, which is covered by a small island called Calve, is a very good port, in which a very large ship of the Spanish Armada was blown up

(*p*) In the MS. relation it is said, oats produce three for one, and barley from six to sixteen for one.—(*q*) It should seem from hence, that many things delighting in a moist and warm climate would succeed equally well here. For that the climate is very warm as well as moist, appears from there being in this island and in Jura, those speckled vipers which have been already mentioned as so highly venomous in *Illa*.

(*r*) In Dorret's map, there is said to be an appearance of coal at Kilewicken and at Beinneninic, and coal at Loggan, all on the south side of the island.—

(*s*) Toubir-Mary or the Blessed Virgin's well, the water of which is drank as a Catholicon by the inhabitants, might upon an examination be found a mineral spring, and lead our conjectures as to the contents of the surrounding mountains. The water from Beinne Vaur lets fall a yellow sediment, upon which fire scarce acts at all.—(*t*) It might seem an immediate improvement, to establish a pearl fishery, but it would probably turn to little account; and the labour it would require might be directed to many more useful purposes. This remark is the more necessary, as in every country like this an improvement should be well weighed before, and steadily pursued when it was once carried into execution.—(*u*) An accurate survey of these isles, with regard to the bays, harbours, and whatever respects the navigation upon their coasts, has been made by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, by an intelligent and indefatigable seaman, who has already given ample testimonies of his abilities, and therefore to his survey the inquisitive reader is referred

in 1588 (*w*). Loch Scafford, in Dorret's map called Loch na Gaul, on the west side of the island, runs many miles into the land, and there are in it several fertile and pleasant islands (*x*). Loch Leffan, which in the map before mentioned is named Loch Serecdan, by Martin Loch Levin, enters likewise very deep. Besides these there is Loch Lay, and many other inlets, some of which afford good anchorage, and yield occasionally very commodious shelter to ships that pass through these seas, and in that respect only, by presenting opportunities of vending fresh provisions to their crews and passengers on board them, contribute to the advantage of the island, where, with all these conveniencies, there is, exclusive of these accidental markets, very little trade or communication (*y*).

THERE is great plenty of tame fowl of all sorts about every habitation in the island. The mountains abound with game of every kind, as the lochs furnish a prodigious variety of water fowl. They have great quantities of black cattle, small in regard to size, but esteemed to produce, when killed, exceeding good beef. Sheep and goats in abundance, many deer in the hills and woods, which are also much infested with foxes (*z*). The horses of Mull are of a small size, but are highly esteemed, and there is an annual fair in the month of August, in which there are considerable numbers sold (*a*). The excellency of this truly valuable breed is attributed to some Spanish horses, that got on shore from several ships of their Armada, wrecked, as has been before observed upon the coast (*b*). Herrings come frequently into their bays, which furnish also great plenty of white and shell fish of all sorts.

(*w*) Camdeni Annal. p. 580. Johnstons Rerum Britan. Histor. p. 134. Spotswood's history of the church of Scotland, p. 371. Mr. William Sacheverell, who lay some time in this bay, superintending the divers employed on this wreck, says, that for size it is one of the finest and safest ports in the world, covered by the woody island of Calve, surrounded by mountains shaded with trees, and the cascades of chrystal waters rolling over the rocks, form altogether a scene equally pleasing and romantic.—(*x*) Amongst these, the principal are Ulva and Gometra. They lie on the north side near the mouth of the loch. Ulva is in length about four miles and two broad; one half of it is cultivated, and affords both corn and grass, but no wood, except a few fruit trees, which thrive very well in a gentleman's garden. Gometra is about two miles in length and about half a mile in breadth, very pleasant and fertile, but without wood. In Ulva there may be two hundred, and in Gometra twenty souls. At low water people may pass on the sand from one of these small islands to the other. At high water the sound which divides them, is a musket-shot over, and is every tide furnished with a fresh supply of excellent oysters and other shell-fish.—(*y*) Sacheverell's voyage to Il-Columb-Kill, p. 129, 130. Martin's and other Descriptions.—(*z*) MS. relation of the present state of the Isle of Mull.—(*a*) According to some accounts there are two annual fairs, one in the month of May, and the other in August.—(*b*) MS. Relation of the Isle of Mull.

Many seals and otters are found among the rocky islands in the large bays, and the sea ware not only furnishes them with plenty of good manure for their lands, but there is likewise a considerable quantity of it annually burned into kelp (*c*).

THE inhabitants resemble in their persons those of the other islands, and are very stout, strong, and active people (*d*). In point of genius, they are shrewd, penetrating, and have a great deal of vivacity, much addicted to poetry, and very inquisitive after news (*e*). They have a natural ingenuity, which enables them to become Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, Carpenters, &c. without ever being taught any of those trades (*f*). For tho' very docile and attentive, they are so impatient of restraint, as seldom to endure an apprenticeship, so that we need not wonder, that whenever an opportunity is offered, they are ready to quit a country, where a tolerable subsistence is all that can be obtained, either by parts or labour. It is likewise to be observed that they are extremely attached to their chiefs and heads of families, follow them willingly into the land or sea service, or when they are so disposed, to any of our American settlements (*g*).

THE Castle of Dowart, which stands on a rock, about the middle of the east-coast of the island, remains still a kind of a garrison. The castle of Aros, farther in the country, is become a heap of ruins and the castle of May, at the head of loch Buy, is now a place of no consequence (*h*). There are some remains of little Danish forts, but nothing that deserves the name of a town, in all this large island (*i*). As for the in-

(*c*) The reader sees here all the native resources of the people in this isle, and may from thence discern how little can be hoped from their efforts, without assistance towards putting them into a better condition. On the continent agriculture and feeding cattle industriously pursued will do all that can be wished, but communication and commerce are essential to the welfare of an island.—

(*d*) MS. Account of the isle of Mull.—(*e*) Mr. Sacheverell describes them thus, "During my stay I observed the men in general to be large bodied, stout, subtle, active, patient of cold and hunger: there appeared in all their actions a certain generous air of freedom, and a contempt of those trifles, luxury and ambition, which we so servilely pursue." Voyage to Il-Columb-Kill, p 128.

—(*f*) This seems to account rationally for their impatience in serving apprenticeships; for as these artificers cannot be supposed very expert in their respective trades, so young men of quick parts finding themselves in a short space as great proficient as their masters, are little inclined to drudge for years, when all they can hope to learn may be acquired in a few months.—(*g*) MS. Relation of the isle of Mull.—(*h*) It may deserve consideration, whether companies of invalids, composed of soldiers, either bred to, or who have acquired trades, might not be stationed in this and some other isles, and allowed to work themselves at, and instruct others in their several occupations, with very rational hopes of procuring some considerable advantages, at a very small expence.—(*i*) This is an additional proof, in respect to the great truth before advanced, that without help things in this country are not like to grow much better.

habitants

habitants they live on their respective properties, and of course in scattered hamlets where-ever these happen to lie, and have amongst them no appearance of improvements, except a few inclosures; no manufactures, beyond coarse cloth and linen, for their own consumption; and no fisheries of any consequence, for which they are so well situated (*k*). In 1588 some large ships of the Spanish Armada were lost upon this coast, and amongst the rest, as has been supposed, the treasure-ship sunk in or near Toubir-Mary bay (*l*). In 1688 an attempt was made to recover the effects of this vessel by diving, and some cannon, bracelets, a gold chain, beads, and a little money were brought up, but to no great amount (*m*). Many years after Mr. Rowe and Captain Irwin were sent for the same purpose, to the west-coast of North Britain, and perhaps to the coasts of the isle of Mull. It has been often since under consideration, to renew this experiment, which very possibly might be attended with more success, if it was prosecuted with better engines, the assistance of large vessels, and under proper direction (*n*).

THE principal proprietor is the Duke of Argyll, who has his Bailiff or Steward resident in the island, but there are besides many other proprietors (*o*). The common people speak Galic or Erse, in which language their poetry is composed. In respect to religion, they are protestants. There are three parishes, which are consequently of large extent, and a cha-

(*k*) The long neglect of these fisheries can no way prejudice them in point of profit, whenever they shall be properly undertaken and steadily pursued.—(*l*) The depositions of the Spanish prisoners in England confirm this in general; but in regard to the vessel lost in Toubir-Mary bay, those depositions stiled her a large vessel from Florence; Martin says, she was called the Florida, and blown up in that port by one Smollet of Dumbarton. All agree as to her having immense riches on board.

(*m*) Mr. Sacheverell (who had been governor of the isle of Man) superintended this diving expedition, and his strong desire of seeing Iona, Hy, or the island of Il-Columb-Kill, led him to traverse Mull from the north-east to the south-west extremity. In regard to the expedition, all he says is, that in clear serene weather (from the mountains round the bay) it was pleasant to see the divers sinking three-score feet under water, staying sometimes above an hour, and at last returning with the spoils of the ocean, whether plate or money, convinced us of the riches and splendor of the once thought invincible Armada.—

(*n*) In all probability, the success of Sir William Phipps, who the year before had brought up to the value of 300,000*l.* in silver out of a Spanish wreck in the West-Indies, excited the attempt in 1688. But as great improvements have been made on the diving bell (which was the engine used here) by Dr. Halley and others, and as new methods of practising this art have been invented by Borelli in Italy, and by Mr. Simmonds and Mr. Lithbridge in England, an account of which may be found in that great treasure of useful informations, the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xix. we need not despair of recovering somewhat more out of this valuable wreck, as the place in which she lies is certain, and the depth of the sea not very great.—(*o*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 255. MS. Relation of the isle of Mull.

pel, as also a school where some forty or fifty children are taught at the expence of the society for propagating christian knowledge in the Highlands (*p*). There are vestiges of many more churches, and other pregnant testimonies that this island was much more populous in former times. At present the number of people here are computed to be about five thousand, and if some methods are not devised to alter their present situation, there is no great appearance of their becoming more numerous (*q*).

At the south-west extremity of Mull, divided from it by a sound scarce a mile over, lies the small isle which bore anciently the name of Iona, or Hui, or Hy, better known by that of I-Columb-Kill, that is, the Isle of Columb's church, so famous in the old Scots history. It is about two miles long, and somewhat more than half a mile broad. The climate, tho' so very near, differs much from that of Mull, being warmer and less subject to rain. The soil also is rich and fertile, one moiety arable, producing excellent oats, barley, flax, and the harvest near a month earlier than in Mull. The other moiety which is rocky, and consequently not fit for cultivation, abounds with very fine grass, and seeds for its extent, a great number of cattle. It is well watered, and exceedingly pleasant. (*r*).

THIS island was given, in the sixth century, to St. Columba, who erected here a famous monastery, and dying at the close of that century, or the beginning of the seventh, was there interred. In succeeding times, a nunnery and several chapels were built there (*s*). It was also famous for a library, in which were deposited the archives and histories of the kingdom, together with many other curious manuscripts, now dispersed and lost. But what rendered it most famous, was its becoming the burial place, not only of the kings of Scotland, but also of Ireland, Norway, and the isles, as also of the most distinguished

(*p*) State of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge.—(*q*) Experience justifies this assertion. The inhabitants of this island, in common with those in other parts of North-Britain, have for half a century past had all the advantages of the union, and if in this space they have operated so little, much cannot be looked for in half a century to come. But if a little attention was paid, and a little encouragement given, the face of the country and the condition of the people might in that time be most effectually changed; which would not only prove a signal benefit to the people of Mull, but add likewise to the prosperity of Britain. It is this consideration that pleads for such assistance, and the setting this in a strong and just light, the sole motive to all that is said here.

(*r*) Sacheverell's voyage to Il-Columb-Kill, p. 128—143. Martin's description of the Western Islands, p. 256—266. MS. Relation of Mull, and the adjacent isles.—(*s*) Bed. Ecclef. Hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. 4. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 10. Boeth. Scotorum Regni Descript. fol. 8. b. Lessai Regionum et Insularum Scotiæ Descript. p. 35. Buchanan. Rerum Scotiæ Hist. lib. i.

persons

persons of both sexes in the western part of Scotland, and in the islands (*t*). The ruins that still remain, are sufficient to justify the authenticity of those accounts, which speak of this place when it was in a condition better than it now is. The design of this work does not require, or indeed afford room, for entering into particulars; the sole reason of its being mentioned, is to shew that even in its present miserable state it remains an indubitable monument of the former flourishing condition of these isles, and furnishes an incontestable proof, that the people who formerly inhabited them, were not in a low, wretched, barbarous state, without commerce or communication with their neighbours, but quite the contrary, since otherwise they could not have had the skill to erect buildings of so much beauty, or the means of procuring so many fine statues, and other rich ornaments, as in early times made this so celebrated a place, and drew a resort thither from all the northern countries of Europe to visit what were then not barely the objects of curiosity, but of veneration (*u*). It seems also to afford a convincing argument, that, notwithstanding the alteration that has happened in the manners, customs, and political views of the world, it is by no means impossible, that by the restitution of freedom, arts, and commerce, these islands should again resume their former felicity, by becoming well inhabited, well cultivated, and in consequence of their commodious situation, well supplied with all, that through their own industry, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, may procure (*w*).

THE inhabitants at present are no more than one hundred and sixty-five (*x*); but unless all who have visited this isle de-

(*t*) Buchanan says there were forty-eight Kings of Scotland, four of Ireland, and eight of Norway, whose monuments were extant here.—(*u*) Mr. Sacheverell assures us, the altar was of the finest white marble he ever beheld, he also says he saw some large pillars curiously carved in Basso Relievo, several fine statues as large as the life, admirably well executed, and that he was told by the Rev. Mr. John Frazer, that he lent to the Earl of Argyll, a book left him by his father (who was Dean of the isles) containing three hundred inscriptions copied from these tombs.—(*w*) In what is advanced in the text the ancient state of this inconsiderable isle is brought as a decisive proof that the Western Isles were in times past much better inhabited and cultivated than at present, that these people, in some part of this period at least, were not a rude or barbarous, but a civilized and polished nation, and that in consequence of this they were esteemed by and held an extensive correspondence with their neighbours. If therefore such a correspondence and communication were restored, would it not excite and encourage industry? would not this lead to improvements of every kind? and might not commerce bring the people, so happily situated, and so well inclined, to be equally useful to themselves and to the empire of Britain?—(*x*) Mr. Sacheverell tells us, p. 143, when he was in this island there were about fourscore families, so that in little more than seventy years they have diminished more than one half. However, Iona, even in its present state the extent of territory considered, is at least ten times as populous as the isle of Mull. This is a farther evidence of the gradual decay of inhabitants in these islands.

ceive us, they still retain a mildness of temper, a gentleness of disposition, and hospitality, to the narrow extent of their power, which gives the utmost credit to what is recorded of the people here, when they were more numerous and in better circumstances (y). There are several small islands, even in comparison of this, that lie round it, and furnish pasture for cattle, retreats to the sea fowl, and near the coasts of which great quantities of cod, ling, and other white fish, as also oysters, and other shell fish are, or rather might be taken (z).

S K Y.

THIS island, in the opinion of our great British antiquary, is that which Ptolemy styles the eastern Ebuda (a). It is thought to derive the name of Sky from its figure, as, in the Galic language, Sciana signifies Winged; and indeed it is so intersected and broken by the sea, that the etymology seems to be well founded (b). A person however admirably well skilled in all the antient languages or rather dialects of Britain, is disposed to think that its original name might have implied its being the island of herrings (c). It lies between the continent of Scotland, and that long range of islands to the west, of which we are next to treat (d). To the north it has the ocean. On the north-east, the continent, which from point Hunish in the north-east of this island, to loch Tarradon in Ross, is seven leagues, but gradually approaching nearer the sound between

—(y) Mr. Sacheverell's words are, the people here are of a softer genius, and more susceptible of religion and politure, than those in the neighbouring islands. Mr. Martin, who went there many years later, confirms this character, from which the latest accounts assure us, they are not at all degenerated. Can we then doubt of their deserving a little notice and assistance?—(z) It is evident, that with a small proportion of industry, which, by opening a proper communication, might be speedily diffused amongst so well disposed a race of people, they might quickly repair their numbers, find the means of subsisting, in consequence of having certain markets, and be enabled to raise new and commodious structures instead of pining amongst ruins.—(a) Ptolem. Geog. lib. viii. Camdeni Britan. p. 848.—(b) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 131.—(c) Baxteri Glossar. Antiq. Britan. p. 211. He apprehends the Ravenna Geographer wrote Scetis (the name he is supposed to have given this isle) corruptly for Scetinis, that is, according to Mr. Baxter, Scadinis, i. e. Insula Harincorum. It is certain, Scadan in Galic signifies herring, and if Scad be the singular, then Scadinis is Herring island.—(d) That is, between the shire of Ross and the long island, the sea between Sky and the long island is what is called the Minch.

the isle of Sky and the district called Glen-elg, which is also a part of the county of Ross, for the space of about six miles, at the south-east end is little more than a mile broad; and where the ferry is placed, so narrow that the sound of the voice may be heard from one side to the other (*e*). On the south it has the promontory of Ardnamurchan in Argyllshire, which is distant from the point of Sclait, Sleate, or Slate, about five leagues. On the west the channel called the Minch, extends about twenty miles, and from the point of Sclait to the island of south Uist is about twelve leagues (*f*).

THE North-west extremity of this isle, called Trotterness, being in the latitude of fifty-seven degrees forty-five minutes, the longest day is there but a few minutes short of eighteen hours (*g*). The climate is, to speak from the best information that could be procured, not the most agreeable, their springs being commonly backward, their summer sufficiently warm, but the rain usually sets in about the dog days, and continues through the autumn. As to their winters, they are, in comparison with the continent, remarkably mild, with very little frost or snow, but then they are often attended with high northern winds, and as often with heavy rains (*h*). It may be, if the country was better cultivated, it would mend the climate, at least this has been the case in other places, and particularly in Ireland (*i*), and very possibly it might have been so here, when Sky was better peopled than it is at present, and must of course have produced for their subsistence larger quantities of grain than are now raised.

THE form of this island is exceedingly irregular, the sea entering deep into the land on every side, so as almost to divide it in several places. Its aspect also is none of the most pleasant, being, more especially in the interior parts, extremely marshy, rugged, full of rocks and mountains (*k*); amongst these, seven are distinguished for their height, Quillin, Scornifrey, Bein-flore, Bein-vore-scowe, Beinchro, Bein-nin, and Kaillach, of which Quillin is the highest, and to its rending the clouds in their passage, a great part of the wet weather

(*e*) In this we follow Pont's map in the *Theatrum Scotiæ*, as being the largest and most distinct.—(*f*) The range of Islands breaks the force of the west, as the continent does of the east winds, which accounts for the mildness of the winter in Sky.—(*g*) See the learned Dr. Halley's admirable discourse on the proportional heat of the Sun in all latitudes, *Miscellanea curiosa*, vol. i. 256.—(*h*) Relation of the isle of Sky, by a gentleman who went thither A. D. 1761, and composed his account while on the spot.—(*i*) Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. c. 4. Phil. Transf. N^o 27. p. 495. Smith's natural history of the county of Waterford, p. 285.—(*k*) MS. Relation of the isle of Sky.

which prevails here is generally ascribed (*l*). In length this island is said to be forty or forty-four computed miles, and in breadth thirty-six in some places, but twenty-six in others, and in certain parts scarce two miles. A very sensible and inquisitive gentleman, who was so obliging as to examine it on the spot, for the sake of this work, found the distance of the point at Sclait, or Slate, in the south-west part of the island, from Trotternefs in the north-west, to be eighty English miles compleat; and thinks that the mean breadth of the island may be computed at twelve (*m*). In respect to size, it differs not much from the county Palatine of Chester, is much larger than the island of Minorca; bigger than any of the Swiss Cantons, protestant or popish, Berne only excepted; not much inferior to the isle of Corsica; nearly equal to that of Madeira; and very little less than Martinico (*n*).

THE soil is various in respect to colour, depth, and qualities. In Slate, and in a great part of Trotternefs, it is a thin clay; in the parishes of Durinefs and Minmifs, it is that sort of black earth which in North Britain they call Moss. In Watternefs, it inclines again to clay; in Strath, and some other parts of the island, it is a fine rich, deep, black mould, and, lying upon limestone, wonderfully fertile (*o*). Next to this clay is most esteemed; but even the moss, when properly treated and manured with shell-sand, of which there is great plenty in all parts of the island, produces very good crops (*p*). As to the interior part of the isle, it is one continued moor interspersed with mountains, rocks, and morasses; all these however produce a rough kind of grass, on which their cattle feed and grow fat (*q*). There are very few countries so well stocked as this island is with all kinds of manure, for besides the sea ware, which is common to all the islands, they have a very prolific sort of sea sand, which is distinct from the shelly sand before mentioned, and the best marle, which tho' very well known, is very little used (*r*). Here are also a great variety of fine earths,

(*l*) Martin's description of the western isles, p. 138.—(*m*) MS. Relation of the isle of Sky.—(*n*) Templeman's survey of the globe, pl. i, iv, v, x, xxvi, xxix.—(*o*) MS. Relation, compared with several other accounts, and with Martin's description.—(*p*) Martin, p. 139. relates many extraordinary instances of fertility in this country, not only with the assistance of these manures, but without.—(*q*) Besides this rank grass, natural clover, and grounds spread with daisies are here and there interspersed, even in the wildest spots.—(*r*) Martin, p. 132. affirms, that the sloping side of a hill entirely overgrown with heath being covered with marle, all the heath fell, as if, as he expresses it, cut with a knife, and being afterwards sown with barley, yielded thirty-five fold. All the later accounts concur in commending this rich manure, and in condemning the neglect of it.

of different colours, soft, unctuous, and free from any kind of grit, potters earth, fullers earth, a kind of white earth, which has been mistaken for chalk, free-stone, lime-stone, white and black marble, agate, chrystal, and upon their rocks grow some dyeing mosses (*s*), and talc as fine as that of Venice (*t*). There are in some places, very promising appearances of silver ore, and cakes of iron are sometimes found amongst their peat ashes; there is likewise a kind of red barren earth, which is in reality an iron ore (*u*). Coal appears in different parts of the island, but they make little use of it, as they have great abundance of peat or turf, which is their common firing (*w*). The country was formerly overgrown with fir-trees, of which there are very few, if any, left (*x*). There are still some tolerable woods and several coppices in different parts of the island. They grow considerable quantities of barley and oats, of which the latter is by much the best (*y*). They have also hemp and flax, and might have a great deal more, potatoes, peas, beans, turnips, cabbage, coleworts, and all kind of garden stuff, succeed extremely well, and so would fruit, if sufficient pains were taken in planting and cultivating it (*z*).

THERE cannot be a country better watered than the isle of Sky, having innumerable springs, some of which are mineral and medicinal, and all of them limpid, remarkably light and wholesome (*a*). Rivulets and rills of different

(*s*) Martin, p. 135. acquaints us, tht they scrape a thin white scurf (he should have said moss) from stones found amongst their rocks, which they call corkir. This being carefully dried and reduced to powder, is put with urine into a bottle; and being kept close stopp'd for three weeks, becomes a bright crimson dye. There is a coarser brown scurf which they call crostil, and which dyes a Feuillet-mort, or as it is vulgarly called, a Philimot. Both are of the tribe of Mosses styl'd placodium, and are of the same nature with the orchil or orseille, of which they export annually to the value of 10 or 12,000*l*. from the Canaries, no small part of which comes to great Britain.—(*t*) Dr. Hill's history of Fossils, p. 70. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iv. p. 926, 927.—(*u*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 154. It may not be amiss to remark, that peat ashes prove an excellent manure.—(*w*) Coal has been raised at Holm, near Portry in Waternefs, and about the village of Mogstat.—(*x*) Tho' there is now little above ground, except in Sir James Mac Donald's estate, yet large trees are often digg'd up, being preserv'd in the bogs, which demonstrates the island was once in a state very different from that in which it is at present; and there can be no doubt that timber plant'd here would grow as well as in Norway. In support of this I shall mention a fact transmitt'd to me while this sheet was at press, by my worthy friend the ingenious Dr. Walker, who, in a late visit to this isle, found at a place call'd Armadel a plantation of large thriving trees containing a considerable quantity of valuable timber.—(*y*) This is not the case, in the smaller islands, for in them the barley prospers most.—(*z*) In respect to many other things, as well as fruit, it is not thro' the defect of soil or climate, but of industry or inclination that the inhabitants are without them. It is easy to conceive, that persons well skill'd in improvements would not only increase largely the produce of the grains that have been already rais'd here, but also introduce many things to which the natives are strangers, and will continue so unless their commerce extends.—(*a*) Martin, p. 140, 141, mentions loch Siant Well, as famous for curing many diseases, as also Toubir Tellibreck. In the

MS.

rent sizes run down from the mountains, and besides a variety of other kinds of fresh fish, there are above thirty that abound in salmon. There are likewise several fresh water lakes, and amongst these one of a considerable size, and in it an island, in which there is a decayed chapel dedicated to St. Columba (*b*). In several of these lakes there are trout, eels, and pikes, and in some there are muscles that yield pearls. As to those salt water lochs, which, as they enter deep into the land, are properly speaking bays of the sea, they have many of different sizes, and on all sides of the island, seven at least on the west side, ten on the south. Loch Eyefort on the south east, and two or three on the north (*c*). Many of these abound with herring in the season (*d*), all of them with white and with shell fish of different sorts, and in some of the largest there are islands which serve for pasturage, and afford shelter for sea fowl (*e*).

THEY have plenty of tame fowl of all sorts about their habitations, and might, if they found it requisite, have them in still greater abundance. As to wild and water fowl, in point of quantity or of variety, more cannot be wished than they possess. Their black cattle are small, and through want of attention miserably lean in the winter, but when fat in the summer, afford exceeding good and sweet beef. Their horses likewise are little, but lively and very hardy, going through all sorts of labour, upon food that costs their owner little or nothing (*f*). They have deer, sheep, goats, hogs, and rabbits, to the full extent of their wishes, and if they could turn them to any profit, might with little trouble have many more. Hares are not found in this island, in which however there are but too many foxes; there are many seals, otters, weasels, and two or three sorts of vipers, the bite of some of which is mortal. On the coast, and in their bays, they have prodigious quantities of cod, ling, mackerel, haddock, whiting, turbot, skate, and a variety of other kinds of fish (*g*). Herring in such plenty, that a very few years ago they were sold for sixpence a barrel, besides an incredible variety of shell fish, large in size and excellent in their several kinds. They procure in

MS. Relation. Broadford in Strath is celebrated on the same account. But as we have more than once remarked, none of these have been properly examined, so as to determine their mineral contents. Such an examination would on many accounts be of great importance.—(*b*) Martin's account of the Western Islands, p. 142.—(*c*) As to the utility of these bays as havens, we refer to that accurate account which will be speedily made public.—(*d*) At Waterford they make excellent red herring and sprats; and why may they not be as well cured here?—(*e*) If Sky was once fully improved, these islands might be employed to many important purposes.—(*f*) There seems to be little doubt, that by using proper methods, and a proper degree of attention, the size of their cattle and horses might be improved.—(*g*) In the midst of all this plenty, the people feed but little on flesh, fowl, or fish, but content themselves mostly with meal, milk, and potatoes.

dry summers small quantities of a foul salt, not sufficient for their consumption, of Nature's making upon their bare rocks, and in the shallows of their bays (*h*). Yet they dry their herring, and some other kinds of fish, caught after the tenth of the month of September, without salting them at all, and keep them for their own eating several months. There are likewise both sorts of coral, red and white, upon their coasts (*i*).

THE inhabitants in respect to their persons, though generally speaking not very tall, are notwithstanding a stout, active, well made race of men; and the modesty, temperance, and industry of the women, sufficiently compensate the want of that elegance and delicacy to which we are accustomed (*k*). It is on all hands allowed that they have pregnant parts, sharp wits, and solid understandings; they have been highly commended also for their vivacity in poetic and musical compositions, which we may say, without meaning any reflection, may in a great measure arise from the want of suitable occasions for applying their talents to more useful subjects (*l*). They dwell for the most part in scattered villages, as conveniency and the situation invites; there are however two places, which, whenever commerce finds an entrance into SKY, will probably become towns (*m*). The first is Portry, on the east side of Sky, where the loch of the same name affording a very commodious harbour, and the place lying in the centre of the country, renders it so convenient, that two fairs are held there, one about the beginning of June, the second about the beginning of September, in which are sold horses, cows, sheep, goats, hides, wool, cheese, butter, fish, and the other commodities of the country (*n*). The purchasers, at their return from these fairs, swim the horses and cows across the ferry to the main land. The other is at Dunweigan, on the west side, where Mr. Mac Leod has his residence, in

(*h*) This shews with what facility salt, in case they had any call for it, might be made, and at how small an expence.—(*i*) This coral, which is an object in so many other parts of the world, is here considered only as a medicine, and is used in powder with the yolk of an egg for a diarrhoea.—(*k*) The dressing the flax, the spinning, and, at least till very lately, the very weaving it into cloth, was all left to the women. On the other hand, the men are employed in manuring and tilling the land, hunting and fishing, in the spring and summer; they burn also sea-wrack into kelp, and convert their fern into ash.—(*l*) Martin's Account of the Western Islands, p. 199, 200.—(*m*) There are many other places on the sea coast, where towns may be conveniently built, and no doubt will be built, whenever, as we hinted in the text, arts, manufactures, and trade, for all which it appears here are abundant materials, come once to make their progress into this very extensive, fertile, and well situated island.—(*n*) This seems to be the principal outlet, which, in their present situation, these people have for the produce of their country; and however inconsiderable this may be, it shews they derive some benefit from living in an island, as they are enabled to afford assistance to, instead of seeking it from their neighbours.

a castle, and where the bay or loch called Faillort affords a tolerable harbour (*o*). In respect to husbandry, they are not unacquainted with it, or the improvements that might be made in it, for they inclose their arable lands with dykes of earth, and also some of their pastures, and raise sufficient quantities of corn to supply the markets that are open to them (*p*). They make woollen and linen cloth for their own use, and a little for sale; the latter, as we have already hinted, till very lately, was woven by their women, the occupation of a weaver being thought a disgrace to a man. They cure some fish for sale, but not a great deal. Kelp is a considerable commodity, selling from three pounds ten to five pounds a run; and they likewise burn and vend no small quantity of fern ashes (*q*). They transport most of their commodities in their own little boats, and there is no doubt would extend their commerce still farther, if their circumstances would allow them to build larger vessels (*r*).

THERE are many monuments of the later as well as earlier possessors of this island still extant therein; such as altars, stones of immense height, and circular temples, erected in the time of the Druids (*s*). Small houses under ground (*t*), and a kind of cells in remote places, which were the retreats of hermits in the succeeding ages (*u*). A great number of watch towers, heaps of stones, designed for graves, and other testimonies, which sufficiently manifest that here the Danes were once masters (*w*). There are also many natural curiosi-

(*o*) This bay is about six miles in length, and about three in breadth at the mouth of it, in which lies the island of Ila, and in its progress into the land seven other smaller islands.—(*p*) It is no light excuse for the want of industry, or rather it affords a probable account for the seeming want of industry, in the inhabitants of Sky, that they are thus limited; for knowing, as from experience they must do, the measure of the demand, it would be against their interest greatly to exceed it, as their produce would then either remain on their hands, or be sold at a reduced price.—(*q*) Fern ashes are a principal ingredient in making soap; and as for common soap lime and tallow are the other ingredients, one would think the manufacture might be carried on at a very cheap rate, and to great extent here. They would certainly produce a much larger profit than can arise from the sale of the raw material.—(*r*) This has been formerly the case of many, which are now as flourishing places of trade as any in this island of Britain.—(*s*) The reader will remark how strong a proof this is of what has been asserted in the history, as to the early peopling of these islands.—(*t*) It may be the inhabitants of these subterraneous dwellings were the Ferbologes, or Fir-Bolgs, so famous in the old Irish chronicles, who from these habitations were stiled Terrigenæ, and Antricolæ, from their living in caves, both which they seem to have practised in this island. What may seem to strengthen this conjecture is, that in Hirta or St. Kilda, there is an old fort called by the natives Dun Ferbolg.—(*u*) These in the language of the country are called Tey-nin-Druinich, i. e. the house of the Druid. But then it must be observed, that Druinich signifies with them not only a Druid, but also any person who led a solitary contemplative life. St. Columba first instituted a monastic or collegiate fellowship amongst the Culdees, who before lived separately each in his own cell.—(*w*) Each of these has its particular name, such as Dun Skunbrog, Dun Derig, Dun Akin, probably from their founders.

ties, and amongst these, there are caves of a prodigious extent. This isle is in the shire of Inverness; it has three principal proprietors, Sir James Mac Donald, Mr. MacLeod, and the representatives of the family of Mac Kinnon (x). It is divided into seven parishes, in each of which there is a school, and three charity schools besides, to which the people very willingly send their children, as even the meanest amongst them earnestly desire they should be taught to write and read, knowing how necessary this is to their providing for themselves in any other part of the world (y). The inhabitants are in general Protestants, the common sort speak only Gaelic or Erse, persons in better circumstances understand and speak English. It is computed that there are in Sky fifteen or sixteen thousand souls (z), which though small in comparison of the extent of country, is however large enough to attract the notice, and may in time be thought to deserve the attention, of government.

THERE are many lesser islands, and abundance of islets or holms, that are dependent upon Sky. To the north east and to the north west of Trotternesse, there are seven, eight, or more, small islands, none of them in any respect very considerable, which however were fully inhabited in former times, as appears from the ruins of chapels, that in those times, for the use of such as dwelt in these now desert isles, were built in them (a). In the great lochs on the west side of Sky there are also several islands, particularly Isa in Loch Faillorch before-mentioned, which is two miles in extent, and very fertile both in grain and grass (b). To the south there lie five islands, Canna or Cannay, Rum, Egg, Muck. and Aich. The first of these, though not the largest, is by much the most valuable. It is a round flat island, about three miles long, and more than a mile broad, exceedingly well watered, the soil remarkably rich and fertile, producing corn and grass every where in great abundance (c). It is the property of Mr. Mac Donald of Clanronald, divided into three farms, and has upon it three

(x) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 212. MS. relation of the Isle of Sky.—(y) It would be a point of sound policy to erect one or more such schools in every district in the island, more especially if put upon the same foundation with the Charter Schools in Ireland, where besides learning English, the children are employed in trenching marshy grounds, planting and hoeing potatoes, going to plough and cart, by which, as soon as they grow up, they become the best servants, and in time the best farmers in the country.—(z) MS. relation of the Island of Sky, written in the summer 1761—(a) The island Altvig, though but two miles in circumference, had a chapel dedicated to St. Turos; the Isle of Troda, of the same size, had one dedicated to St. Columba, and the same saint had a chapel in the little isle of Fladda Chuan; not a rock but what had some people upon it. All these isles have immense quantities of fish on their coasts; whales for this reason frequent them also.—(b) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 137, 138.—(c) This isle lies five leagues south west from Sky, and ten east from Barra, according to an accurate account sent me by Mr. Malcolm Mac Caskill.

hundred souls. At the east end of the island there is a safe capacious harbour, that will hold one hundred and fifty sail of ships, and near it are two banks abounding with large cod; yet notwithstanding all these advantages, the inhabitants have not either trade or manufactures, and being able to pay their rent with their black cattle, give themselves very little trouble about fishing (*d*). Rum is a larger island, of a circular form, and near twelve miles in diameter, rugged and mountainous, the soil wet and marshy, producing only grass, and the black cattle, sheep, and goats, are of an inferior kind (*e*). It is the property of Mr. Mac Lean of Coll, and has upon it between two and three hundred people, who with more wants, have as little industry as their neighbours. Egg and Muck are not either of them quite so big as Canna, but in point of soil are equally fertile, and their climate very healthy and pleasant. As to Aich it is the smallest, and the least considerable of them all (*f*). These islands look always fresh and verdant, but except in Rum, there is not upon them all so much as a bush, and the inhabitants are persuaded that no trees will grow in them; but this is probably a mistake, for in Soa Vretil, an island of much the same size, and lying between them and Sky, one half of it is a wood (*g*). On the east side of Sky there are likewise five islands, Pabay, Scalpa, Raasa, Rona, and Fladda. Pabay is a pretty small, flat, round, island, about a mile in diameter, now used only for pasture, and a cowherd and his family are its only inhabitants; but it is so rich and fine a soil, that with tolerable management it might be made wholly arable (*h*). Scalpa is three miles long and one broad, rising gradually on all sides from the shore, but not to a great height. There are a few farms on the sea side, the rest is pasturage, in which feed a good number of black cattle. Raasa is nine miles in length, and three in breadth, it is the property of Mr. Mac Leod of Raasa, who has a very handsome seat upon it, and there are in it some arable farms and excellent pasture (*i*). Rona, the most northern of all these

(*d*) In the account above mentioned, it is said there is plenty of iron-stone amongst the rocks, which Martin affirms strongly affected the needle of a compass he set down near them. It has been thought that considering the size, situation, and the singular conveniency of its port, this isle may be as commodious as any for establishing magazines for a fishery. Something of this sort, it is said, was in the reign of Charles II. attempted, or at least intended.—(*e*) It is worth observing, that in this rough, mountainous, uncultivated isle, there falls much more rain than in Cannay.—(*f*) Egg belongs to several gentlemen of the name of Mac Donald, and Muck to Mr. Mac Lean of Muck, to which Aich seems annexed.—(*g*) Martin, p. 161. tells us, it is about five miles in circumference, and that red currants dropped by birds grow and prosper there.—(*h*) If we may depend on Martin, the cows in this isle give twice as much milk, and the hay harvest is a full month forwarder than in the north of Sky.—(*i*) This island is but a league distant from Sky, and about three from the continent. Not a twentieth part of it is cultivated.

five isles (except Fladda, which is but a mile in circumference) is about three miles long, and scarce one in breadth, is the property of the same gentleman, has very little arable land, and being rocky is thought not very improveable. In these islands, taken together, it is thought there may be about six hundred inhabitants (*k*).



The LEWES or LONG ISLAND.

IN the opinion of Camden, the island of Lewes or Lewis, was the Western Hæbuda of Ptolemy (*a*). Baxter has a notion, from the word Elaviani in the anonymous geographer, by which he thinks he meant this island, that in the British language it was called Clauinnis, or rather Clau Innis, i. e. Infula Brachialis, or the Island with Arms, because some parts of it being intersected by the sea on both sides, looked like so many arms stretched out (*b*). He agrees however with Camden, that this ought to be considered as the Hæbuda of Ptolemy, and supposes that not Harris only, but Uist also was connected therewith (*c*). In the Chronicle of Man it is called Lodhus (*d*), by which name it was likewise known to the northern nations (*e*).

LEWIS and Harries, or Harris, are still in fact but one island, joined together by a narrow isthmus; and in truth the whole range of islands, which in their present state are almost innumerable, are generally comprehended both by the inhabitants and their neighbours under the name of the *Long Island* (*f*). Whoever attentively considers them, will not judge it at all impossible that in early times they might make but one island (*g*), and that they have since, by earthquakes, storms, and tempests, been broken and separated in the manner in which we see them at present (*h*). Lewis and Harris, taken as one island, have the ocean on the north, the country of Assynt, which is part of the continent of North Britain, on the east, at the distance of about fifty miles; the island of

(*k*) It is apprehended that the people here and in the South Isles, Cannay, &c. are included in the number of inhabitants said to be in Sky.—(*a*) Britan. p. 848.—(*b*) Glossar. Antiq. Britan. p. 81.—(*c*) It is for this reason, that except Uist, which he writes Eust, he mentions none of the other islands.—(*d*) Chron. Mannæ ap. Camdeni Britan. p. 843.—(*e*) Rerum Orcadenium Histor. lib. i. cap. xvii.—(*f*) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 1.—(*g*) This seems to derive some probability, from Ptolemy's opposing this, as the Western Ebuda, to Sky, which he styles the Eastern Ebuda.—(*h*) The appearance of the small islands and those lying in the sounds likewise favour this opinion.

North Uist, on the south; and the wide Atlantic Ocean on the west (*i*). There are few countries in the world, as Sir William Monson long ago observed, the inhabitants of which are better situated for a wide and lucrative commerce (*k*); as they have a free and open navigation to the north, and indeed to all parts of Europe, lying at the same time no less open to North America and the West Indies, and having (at least in their power) many commodities fit for these markets.

THE climate is in many respects none of the best, though it is generally esteemed to be very healthy. The springs are backward and bleak. The summer sufficiently warm. The autumn rainy, especially in the month of October. The winter sharp and windy, but the frost not very long or severe, neither have they much snow (*l*). The climate of Harris is said to be milder, and this no doubt is likewise true of all the islands stretching farther to the south (*m*).

THE face of the country is not very promising, the interior parts mountainous and boggy, intersected by arms of the sea on all sides. Lewis, properly so called, is reckoned thirty-six Scots miles in length from north to south, and Harris twenty-four such miles; but taken together they will be found one hundred and twenty English miles long, and at a medium about ten miles broad (*n*). The Long Island, that is, the whole range of islands, which shall be hereafter described, is full two hundred such miles in length, including about sixteen miles of sea for the several sounds by which these islands are separated; if we consider it in this light it is larger than the county of Cornwall, superior in size to any of the Swiss Cantons, Bern only excepted, equal to the Dutchy of Parma, little if at all less than the isle of Teneriffe (*o*); and not much inferior to the islands of Guadaloupe and Grande Terre (*p*).

THE interior part of Lewis, and the very middle also of Harris, is a deep, black, mossy or moorish soil, commonly, though perhaps without reason, held to be irreclaimable (*q*). On the west side all along the sea, and for one, two, or three

R 4

miles

(*i*) *Theatrum Scotiæ*, p. 131.—(*k*) *Naval Tracts*, p. 525.—(*l*) Mr. Mac Pherson's account, which agrees with the old surveys.—(*m*) *Martin's Description of the Western Islands*, p. 31.—(*n*) All the MSS. of Fordun, which have the measures interlined, correspond with these accounts.—(*o*) *Templeman's Survey of the Globe*, Pl. i. iv. ix. x. xxix.—(*p*) This is asserted, allowing these islands, both of which pass commonly under the name of Guadaloupe, to contain eleven hundred square miles.—(*q*) It has been frequently remarked in Ireland, that in cutting deep ditches through bogs in order to drain them, a stiff clay has been discovered at the bottom, which has proved an excellent

miles within land, the country is flat, and the soil sandy. There is also some part of the east coast flat and of the same nature (*r*). This when manured with sea wreck, and the black soil, and well cultivated, is very fertile, producing large crops of good barley and rye (*s*), as also small oats, peas, beans, potatoes, and all kinds of garden stuff, in the utmost plenty, and very good in their respective kinds. Hemp and flax thrive very well, and might be brought to great perfection, and produced in very large quantities, with due care, and which would excite that, if there was due encouragement (*t*). There are in many places great beds of red clay, of which the people make many sorts of earthen ware, and some vessels so large as to hold their ale, and which, in point of keeping it, are thought preferable to casks (*w*). They have great abundance of peat or turf for fuel, which supplies their want of wood (*x*), there being now only a few birch and hazel trees; though nothing is more certain, than that great quantities of timber grew formerly here; and in Harris, there is a large tract of country, still called, from what it anciently was, *the Forest* (*y*). By comparing the ancient with the modern accounts of these islands, it is plain that those dark black morasses before mentioned, have been occasioned by the rotting of immense woods, and that the natural soil lies at a great depth (*z*). They have some quarries of stone, and even of marble (*a*). Gold dust is said to have been found (*b*), and there is much yellow talc (*c*). Amber, and ambergris have

lent manure for the morasses, from which it was taken. Something analagous to this will be probably found to facilitate the reclaiming most mossy grounds, and these very mossy lands prove on the other hand, an admirable manure for sandy grounds.—(*r*) Martin, and all the descriptions of these islands, agree in these particulars.—(*s*) Martin asserts, that from one root there spring often from seven to fourteen ears of barley, and that by digging and manuring with Algamarina or Sea Ware, they have frequently crops of thirty fold. This has been confirmed by accounts from different parts of the Long Island A. D. 1760, by persons who examined strictly into this matter, as having themselves doubted the fact.—(*t*) Mr. Mac Pherison's account of the Long Island. Dr. Walker also informs me he had seen in this island on the 15th of August 1765, hemp full four feet high, and in all respects as good as any in the south of Scotland; it is therefore out of all doubt that immense quantities of this valuable commodity might be raised in this and indeed in most of the islands.—(*w*) In Persia, as Sir John Chardin informs us, they keep their wine in earthen vessels for many years.—(*x*) This was observed long ago by Sir W. Monson, Naval Tracts, p. 525.—(*y*) Martin in his description of the Western Islands, p. 35. says the forest in Harris extends eighteen miles from east to west.—(*z*) These morasses are composed entirely of corrupted vegetables as appears from their producing peat, and from the use of the ristle or sickle plough.—(*a*) MS. account of the Long Island.—(*b*) In the neighbourhood of Copveaul in Harris, and at Griminis on the West Coast of North Uist.—(*c*) In the small island of Taranfay, which is also fruitful in corn and grafs.

been frequently thrown upon the coast (*d*). Coral and coralline grow in loch Seaforth (*e*), and perhaps in other places.

IN respect to water, the inhabitants of these are not less happy than those in the other islands, for besides a variety of excellent springs every where, and some of them of a very particular nature (*f*), they have several rivers and abundance of rivulets, in which are salmon, trouts, and other excellent fish, (*g*). There are also many fresh water lakes, particularly that of Langavat in Lewis, which is twelve miles long, and six broad, and a smaller lake of the same name in Harris (*h*), all of them plentifully stocked with fish of different kinds. There are several inlets of the sea, or salt lochs, on the east and west sides of these islands, such as Broad loch, loch Stronowa, loch Grimshader, and many others (*i*), which with respect to their extent, depth of water, and other conveniences, as also with respect to the tides, have been carefully surveyed and accurately described (*k*), and therefore need not be insisted upon here.

No country in the world can boast of a greater variety of the feathered inhabitants of air and water than these isles. In the mountains they have eagles and hawks of many different kinds, with a prodigious choice of wild-fowl, many of those sorts that are esteemed the greatest delicacies in other parts of the world (*l*). Their lakes are covered with an incredible diversity of water-fowl, and amongst these may be reckoned the famous *Anas Farenfis*, *Canard a Duvet*, *Eider Goose* (*m*), or as it is called here, the *Colck* (*n*), the down of which is sup-

(*d*) A weaver on the little isle of Bernera burned a lump of ambergris in his lamp till by its giving him a pain in his head it was discovered.—(*e*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 6.—(*f*) At loch Carlvay there is a well the water of which will not bleach linen: at St. Cowflen's a well, the water of which kept ever so long on the fire, will not boil meat; these properties (if true) must arise from the waters being impregnated with some singular substance, which may render them peculiarly fit for other purposes.—(*g*) Mr. Mac Pherson's account of these islands.—(*h*) See Pont's map of Lewis and Harris in the *Theatrum Scotiæ*. p. 131.—(*i*) All of them abounding in fish and fowl, and habitable islands in most of them.—(*k*) Mackenzie's survey, p. 14. See the title at large, p. 425.—(*l*) Such as pheasants, termagants, or white partridges, moor fowl, corn-creeper, or land rail.—(*m*) Barth. act. 1. p. 90. Worm. mus. 310 Willoughb. Ornith. 277. Faun. Suec. 94.—(*n*) Buchan. Rer. Scotiæ. Hist. lib. i. gives a very particular account of this fowl, which he calls in latin *Colca*. He says they come annually to the little rocky island of Suilsker near Lewis, to lay their eggs; that when they have hatched all, their plumage falls, and going naked into the sea are not seen again till next spring. He adds, that they have no quills or feathers, but are entirely covered with down.

posed to be the finest in the world (*o*). They have sheep, goats, and hogs, in great number, black cattle, horses, and deer, small indeed in size, but excellent in their respective kinds. No wild beasts and very few vermin, except the mettrick, said to afford a valuable fur (*p*). On the coasts there are cod, ling, haddock, whiting, skate, turbot, mackerel, and many other kinds of fish in prodigious plenty (*q*). Herring, in some or other of their lochs, through all seasons of the year (*r*); seals and otters in greater numbers than in the other isles as also porpoises, and whales, of almost every size and denomination, with all the several kinds of shell-fish, in a degree of excess, so as to cover the beaches when the sea ebbs, where by corrupting in the warm weather they sometimes infect the air (*s*).

THE inhabitants of the Long Island are taking them in general, stout, active, well proportioned people, their hair mostly of a light brown, and there are very few among them who have black. They are naturally ingenious, have a great turn to mechanics, are commonly patient, laborious, and capable of turning readily to different occupations (*t*). They are very industrious husbandmen in their own way (*u*). They prefer digging to ploughing, as producing a greater increase. They make constant use of what they call a Ristle, which is a kind of a sickle plough, drawn by one horse, and which cuts not a furrow but a deep line, dividing all the stringy roots of bent or other plants, and rotten vegetables that compose their moors. This they do to facilitate the entrance of the spade, as well as the larger common plough, that they may go the deeper, bring up more earth, and expose a greater surface to the sun. They afterwards plough with an instrument which is also peculiar to themselves, and after sowing, draw a harrow over the field with two rows of crooked teeth, and heather fixed in the third row, to smooth the surface after breaking the clods with the former.

(*o*) Linnæi Systema Naturæ, tom. i. p. 124. Deplumatur in Nido: plumus mollissimis, præstantissimis, pretiosissimis. If the reader would be informed of what care is taken of them, how valuable they are esteemed, and what profits arise from them, he may consult Pontopidan's history of Norway, P. 11. p. 70, 71, 72. Horrebow's history of Iceland, p. 65, 66, 67. Debes, description of the islands and inhabitants of Ferøe, p. 137, 138.—(*p*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 36.—(*q*) Sir William Monson, Martin, Mac Pheron, and all who have visited these islands.—(*r*) In 1753, there were in the months of September and October, in loch Roig in Lewis, sixty-three vessels from different ports in south and north Britain, employed in the herring fishery, having four hundred and five seamen, besides one hundred and ten country boats, and between four and five hundred fishermen.—(*s*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 6.—(*t*) All the ancient and modern accounts of the Long Island.—(*u*) It seems probable from the whole stile of husbandry which prevails among these people, that their islands were once extremely populous, and land very scarce. If it had not been so, they would not have had recourse to the laborious method of digging, cutting, ploughing, and harrowing, in order to render the crop the larger. This mode of cultivation, out of respect to their ancestors they still pursue, though now the cause no longer subsists.

All this requires a great deal of time and labour, for which they are derided by some of their neighbours; but they have hitherto persisted in their old methods and if it be true that their crops are very abundant, we need not to wonder at it. (*w*).

THEY make woollen cloth and linen for themselves, and while they had a market for it, the women spun a great deal of yarn and thread (*x*). Earthen ware, as we said before, is another of their manufactures. They are also very expert fishermen, and prove, whenever they are employed, very hardy, enterprising, and able seamen. They are very courteous and affable in their manners, extremely hospitable to strangers, inquisitive, and easily prevailed upon to enter into any undertaking by which a livelihood may be obtained (*y*). They are a very lively chearful people, prone to all manly exercises, such as hunting, shooting, swimming, running, and leaping. Their favourite diversions are music and dancing, and many of all ranks have a natural talent for composing verses, in which those who understand the Galic language and poetry say they discover great wit and spirit (*z*).

It cannot be doubted that these islands have been inhabited from the earliest times, since we find in them many monuments of druidical worship, such as the thrushel stone, in the parish of Barvas, which is twenty feet high, and very near as many broad. Three upright stones on the north side of loch Carlavay each of them twelve feet in height. But which is far more remarkable than any of these, as fine, as well preserved, and as perfect a temple as STONE HENGE, at the village of Classer-nefs (*a*). The Danes have likewise left very conspicuous marks of their dominion, in a multitude of forts, the ruins of which are still visible (*b*). In succeeding times they must have been very thoroughly inhabited, since in Lewis and the small islands that lie round it, there are no less than twenty-five churches

(*w*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 3, 42, 43, 53. All the later accounts attest the same facts. In one it is thus stated: "The husbandry in the Long Island is singular and extraordinary. They first use the ristle to cut the ground deep, then a sort of a spade or hoe, which they call *casicha* croma, with which they turn up the turf and manure with sea ware, and when sown use the harrow; which method of culture they call *Timiy*, and are positive it brings a better crop than ploughing. They have however a plough which is drawn by four horses, called *cromnigad*, but the ristle also precedes this, as well as the crooked spade." This is that husbandry mentioned by the ingenious Mr. Lisle, in his observations, see vol. i. p. 83.—(*x*) Mr. Mac Pherfon's account of the Long Island.—(*y*) It appears from hence of how great consequence it would be, to put such numbers into a regular and constant train of industry.—(*z*) Martin's description of the western islands, p. 14.—(*a*) There is a very fair cut of this temple in Martin's book, p. 9.—(*b*) These are testimonies still more authentic than any histories.

and chapels (*c*), or rather the remains of them; from which it appears, that some of them must have been no contemptible structures (*d*). King James the sixth had an intention of establishing a fishery here, and of erecting a royal borough, with a design to promote commerce (*e*). This scheme was resumed in the reign of his son, and the foundations of a stately magazine are still visible (*f*). In the reign of Charles the second there were some Dutch people that had been long settled upon Lewis, who from political motives were then removed; yet during their residence here, they gave the natives better instructions with respect to trade, and inspired them with superior notions as to the art of curing and catching fish than they had before (*g*). It is owing to this, that those who dwell in the little town of Stronway, which lies upon a loch of the same name, that affords a very safe and convenient harbour, have to this day a brisk trade, sail in their own vessels to different parts of Europe, and might, with a little encouragement, come to make a much better figure, as probably they will, when the good intentions of the present proprietor, who has proposed great advantages to soldiers and seamen who have settled in his country, come fully to take effect (*h*). The isle of Lewis belongs chiefly to Mr. Mackenzie of Seaforth, and that of Harris to Mr. Macleod.

NORTH VIST, or North Uist, lies to the south of Harris, from which it is divided by a narrow sound of about nine miles over, in which there are a multitude of very small islands (*i*). It is thought to be about thirty miles in circumference (*k*). The climate is very temperate, the soil rich, and on the west side there is a great deal of flat ground, which affords large quantities of grain, especially barley, and being covered with daisies and natural clover, most excellent pasture (*l*). On the east side it is sandy, full of little eminences, and in the middle mountainous, where however there grow great quantities of fern and grass sufficient to feed abundance of cattle and sheep

(*c*) According to the different customs of these different ages, all proofs of a country well inhabited.—(*d*) These structures were therefore built by, and for the use of a civil and religious people.—(*e*) This monarch King James I. of England recommended strongly these improvements to his son prince Henry. See his works, p. 159.—(*f*) This magazine was built in the isle of Vackfay in loch Maddy, and a more commodious place could not be chosen.—(*g*) Martin, p. 30. Sir W. Monfon tells us the Dutch were settled here by the Earl of Seaforth.—(*h*) This town of Stronway has at present two thousand inhabitants.—(*i*) Buchanan, who had his information from Donald Monro, represents the two Uists and Benbecula as one isle, and affirms they actually were so at low water. (*k*) MS. Account of this island.—(*l*) In regard to these facts, Martin and all the later accounts (in procuring of which no pains were spared) exactly agree.

(*m*). They

(*m*). They make much kelp on the east side (*n*). Loch Mad-die is accounted a good harbour. This island, which is undoubtedly capable of great improvement, belongs to Sir James Macdonald.

To the south of North Uist, divided from it by a sound seven miles broad, lies Benbecula, so called from a mountain of the same name in its centre, ten miles in circumference, and on the west side plain and fruitful, on the east sandy and full of little hills. There was formerly in this island a very large nunnery, which is now the residence of Mr. Macdonald of Clanronald the proprietor of the isle (*o*). A narrow sound, fordable in some places at low water, divides Benbecula from South Uist, a spacious island, thirty-six miles long from north to south, and from four to seven miles broad (*p*). This may be stiled the garden of the long island, for there is a tract of flat land on the west side, very rich and fertile, containing forty thousand acres (*q*). This besides excellent pasture, produces very large crops of fine barley; and there is very little doubt that any grain would grow here, as the seasons are very regular, and the island less subject to rain than any of the rest. Hemp and flax thrive exceedingly (*r*). The inhabitants have great quantities of black cattle and sheep, which have very fine wool, and there is abundance of all kinds of white fish upon the coasts, and yet with all this the inhabitants have little or no commerce, and are consequently poor, if that expression can be properly applied to people who have the necessaries of life in the utmost plenty (*s*). This island likewise belongs to Mr. Macdonald.

THE isle of Barra lies at a small distance south from Uist, and is about fifteen miles in circumference. It is not either so pleasant or so fruitful as the former, but there is plenty of cod and ling caught on the coast, of a very large size. This isle belongs to a gentleman of the name of Mac Neil. To the south of Barra there lie several small islands, particularly five, which, though they have distinct names, are in general called the Bishop's islands (*t*). There are likewise innumerable islands

(*m*) This abundance is relative to the present number of inhabitants but cultivation would secure the like plenty, if these were doubled.—(*n*) The having a market for kelp, makes them industrious in this manufacture. The like advantage would make them so in others.—(*o*) This island is remarkable for a kind of a spotted Salmon, which have a very delicious flavour.—(*p*) These are common miles, or English standard measure.—(*q*) MS. Account of the Long Island.—(*r*) It is evident that if a regular fishery was settled on the coast, this would quickly become a populous as well as pleasant country.—(*s*) The chief commodities are horses, seal oil, and kelp.—(*t*) These islands are named in the map Fladda, Linga, Papay, Magala, and Bernera.

of various sizes, lying round those six larger that have been described, most of them very small, but some even among them five or six miles in circumference; all of which were anciently thoroughly cultivated and well inhabited, of which indubitable testimonies remain (*u*). To the westward lies the famous solitary isle of St. Kilda, in the language of the country Hirt, with a few rocks near it, of which so many, and those also extensive descriptions (*w*) have been given, that there is no need of insisting farther upon it here; though possibly in succeeding times it may become still better known, if, in consequence of some trials lately made, a constant and regular fishery should be established upon its coasts.

THE Long Island is, in point of legal jurisdiction, in the shire of Inverness, and of course the inhabitants of it are very remote from the seat of justice (*x*). It is divided into several parishes, and in each of these there is at least one school, where the children of the better sort receive a tolerable education; which, however, instead of disposing them to be content with their condition, to endeavour at improvements, and to live quietly in their own, generally excites distaste to their situation, and a desire of seeking their fortune in other countries; so that the reader will not be much surprized when he is told, that there is not in the whole of this large tract of country above fifteen thousand souls (*y*). The common people speak the Galic or as it is vulgarly called the Irish language; and in south Uist and Barra many of them are papists, of whom there are few or none in the other islands, and the number is daily decreasing even in these. A little attention from the public to the removing inconveniencies, which in ages will be hardly overcome by the efforts of private persons, would quickly render conspicuous those treasures which providence has bestowed on the Long Island (*z*).

(*u*) Between Harris and North Uist lies Bernera (there are several isles of this name) five miles in circumference, near this Pabay, nearer north Uist lies Hermetra, where a magazine was erected for salt and casks in the time of Charles I. In the small isle of Ensay there was found in a grave a neat pair of brass scales, and a hammer finely polished.—(*w*) Martin's voyage to St. Kilda, 1698, 8°. Account of it in his description of the western islands, from p. 280, to 299. A description of St. Kilda by a native, Edinburgh 1732. The history of St Kilda by Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, London 1764, 8°.—(*x*) This contains a great part of what was antiently stiled the county of Ross, which having been in possession of the Lords of the isles, might create a connection between these countries.—(*y*) If we compare the state of the isles, with the number of their inhabitants, and advert to the ruins of churches, chapels, forts, &c. in all the lesser as well as larger isles, it will enable us to form some notion of their ancient condition, and consequently of the possibility of their being rendered as populous by prudent management as they once were.—(*z*) The nature of these assistances, their probable consequences, and the motives which ought to persuade the attempt, will be hereafter seen.

POLITICAL.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS.

IN delivering the history of these islands and their inhabitants, we have shewn (at least as far as the few lights we have would allow) what they once were, and by what a series of misfortunes the inhabitants of them were gradually reduced from being a populous, civilized, and thriving people, into that low and wretched state in which they now are (*a*). By the description of some of the principal isles, it is hoped they are proved to be in themselves, and from their natural advantages, still very considerable, worthy of public attention, and capable of being thereby recovered. But this arduous task of reclaiming, restoring, and retrieving so many countries, seems, in the present circumstances of the empire of Great Britain, to be a matter of much too great importance to be left without some farther deduction (*b*). In the first place, then, let it be observed, that these neglected isles are, even at this day, far from being destitute of things necessary for the subsistence of much larger numbers than are at present contained in them, and that they are likewise very far from wanting many of those materials which industry in other countries renders objects of commerce, and which might be consequently rendered so in these, by the proper application of the same means (*c*).

In several, indeed in most of these isles, there are a great variety of earths, fit for the use of Fullers, Painters, Pipe-makers, and other trades. Boles for medicinal uses, excellent clays of various sorts, of which earthen ware, bricks, tiles, and many other things might be made (*d*). Limestone, freestone, black, white, and variegated marble, slates in great abundance, and of the best kind (*e*). Veins of coal have been discovered in many, which might be rendered of great benefit to all, if the duty upon those water-borne was either removed or properly regulated (*f*). Iron, copper, lead,

(*a*) It is to establish this fact incontestably, that so much notice has been taken of the ruins and remains of ancient buildings erected in former ages, which from their solidity and extent clearly evince, independent of history or tradition, a superior number of people, by whose labour and for whose use they were raised.—(*b*) As in the course of these reflections it will be shewn, such an attention would have a tendency to extend commerce, to enlarge the revenue, and contribute to the strength of the state.—(*c*) In the present state of things, experience shews industry is not to be hoped; and therefore the common good requires that by some proper change it should be introduced.—(*d*) These are valuable in other countries, because their uses are known; of little here, as the people have no call to employ, and are not in a condition to export them. But these are not insuperable difficulties; a regular communication with these isles would bring them to market, an increase of industrious people would convert them to useful purposes upon the spot.—(*e*) Considerable quantities are, but much greater might be, exported.—(*f*) It would be a reasonable indulgence to permit the transporting coals from any one isle to any other, without

quicksilver,

quicksilver, have been undoubtedly found in them, and as some report silver, and gold dust, and minerals of different kinds *g*). Where the natural soil is not overgrown with moss, they have very fine grass, and in many places the ground is spread with natural clover and daisies. Rye, oats, barley, and in some places wheat are raised, and might be raised in much greater quantities (*h*). Hemp and flax, with proper attention, as good in their respective kinds as any in the world, and might be had in great abundance (*i*). Peas, beans, potatoes, all kinds of roots, and other garden vegetables in the utmost plenty (*k*). Trees of different kinds in many of them, and junipers in all. One cannot help wondering therefore at the popular prejudice that prevails amongst many of the inhabitants, that trees cannot be brought to thrive in these islands; whereas with a little attention it would be found, as we have often hinted, not only practicable, but easy. They must be planted thick, that they may support and protect each other, sheltered as much as possible from the south west winds, and properly fenced from cattle. With these precautions there is no question to be made that they might raise large plantations of oak, ash, birch, plane, and Scots pines, to say nothing of such trees as grow in the northern parts of Canada and other countries in America. Than this surely nothing could be more desirable amongst a people who are daily in such want of wood for their houses, boats, domestic utensils, and instruments of husbandry, insomuch that in some isles they are forced to venture sixty miles or more, over a tempestuous sea in an open boat, to procure the materials necessary for making a single plough. All which might be spared if they would vigorously and judiciously attempt what is so much and so indisputably their interest. To put this matter out of all doubt, it will be sufficient to mention, that Dr. Walker, a worthy clergyman, and a most intelligent person, in a late visit to these isles, saw a large clump of ash trees, planted about thirty years before, which were forty feet high, very fresh and flourishing, on the isle of Colonsay, than which there is not one more exposed, and consequently not one where an improvement of this kind was less likely to have succeeded. Whence we may with probability infer it would succeed any where.

(*g*) The want of fuel is supposed to be the principal cause that no mines are wrought in these isles.—(*h*) If they had shipping sufficient, they might be soon excited to a cultivation, that would produce much greater plenty.—(*i*) If we consider how many thousand acres in these islands would bear, and how many thousand pounds are annually sent out of Great Britain for these commodities, it seems no extravagant demand, that we should afford the inhabitants (which is all the encouragement they need) a settled and certain market for them.—(*k*) Hence it is evident the culture of cole and rape seed might be successfully introduced, which would be highly profitable. See Mortimer's Husbandry, vol. i. p. 155.

THEIR

THEIR lochs and rivers abound with salmon, trout, eels, and many other kinds of excellent fish (*l*). They have a vast variety of tame, wild, and water fowl, the down, feathers, and quills of some of which, if properly managed, might produce a very large profit (*m*). Immense numbers of sheep, the wool of which is fine. Goats in great numbers, as also black cattle, deer, and horses; the size of which, a circumstance wherein alone they are deficient, might with due attention, and with the assistance of a few just regulations, be without question improved (*n*). Their rocks produce crotil, chrystals, agates, coloured stones, and talc (*o*). In their lochs or bays they have pearl-oysters, and muscles, corals and corallines. Amber and ambergrise are frequently thrown by the sea upon their coasts (*p*).

BUT such natural advantages might in these, as experience shews us they have done in other countries, receive many assistances, and very great accessions, if the inhabitants were once blessed with commerce (*q*). They might then bring many kinds of grafs seed from different parts of Europe, and still more from America, which would turn exceedingly to their emolument. For as grafs is the universal nutriment of cattle, we see that with little or no prejudice many of its richest kinds vary both soil and climate; and from the luxuriant growth of all kinds of vegetables in these isles, we have scarce any reason to doubt that almost any kind of grafs might with proper attention be brought to thrive here (*r*). The very same thing may be said in reference to grain, more especially such sorts as naturally grow in wet grounds and a humid air, such as millet, panic, &c. which, tho' less serviceable in respect to food, might be found highly useful in fattening beasts and fowl (*s*). With

(*l*) These, if pickled, dried, smoked, or otherwise properly cured, might turn to a considerable amount, as in other countries they do.—(*m*) It is through want of skill in sorting, picking, cleansing, and drying their feathers that (tho' nothing more saleable in good order) they make of them so little.—(*n*) This might be accomplished by mending the breed, inclosing and improving their pastures, and being, as they might easily be, better supplied with winter forage.—(*o*) Though these are in themselves no considerable objects, yet if once a regular correspondence was established, they would find a place in every cargo.—(*p*) The same may be said of these casualties, which would be then more carefully looked after, as well as better collected and preserved.—(*q*) This is one of the many beneficial consequences attending an extensive correspondence; the finest and most fruitful countries of Europe, Italy not excepted, owing some of their richest productions to their being transplanted from other places, and the same method has been as successfully adopted in less fertile soils, and in worse climates.—(*r*) Hartlib's legacy, p. 4. Mortimer's husbandry, book i. chap. 4. Essays on husbandry, p. ii. p. 20. In respect to which book it is difficult to say, whether in point of utility, variety of learning, or elegance in composition, it most deserves to be applauded and admired.—(*s*) This will be found an important improvement when an increase of people, a resort of shipping, and sitting vessels for long voyages come to take place.

still more reason might we hope to raise barilla or soda, the seed of which may be easily procured from Alicant, where it grows in the highest perfection (*t*), and which would prove of incredible advantage if it could be brought to grow even in the most southern of these isles; as in the first instance it would furnish a very valuable commodity for which we pay large sums to strangers, or might be employed to still greater benefit in the manufactures of soap and glass (*u*). This is to be understood of the finest sorts, for as to the coarse, they have all the materials in the greatest plenty already.

By the like care trees and shrubs from different parts of the world, and particularly America (*w*), might be introduced here, those especially that grow in or close to the sea, such as are of quick growth, and fit for building of sloops; and all kinds of bushes and plants that may answer useful purposes in dyeing, tanning, basket-making, matting, painting, varnishing, or that are serviceable in medicine. The stock of animals might be also improved by the bringing in of Chinese hogs, Indian and Flemish sheep, rams of a large size, as also bulls, Spanish and Arabian horses (*x*). Asses which at present, are very scarce, might, if well chosen, be rendered numerous, and as they live as well as labour hard, become very serviceable (*y*). We have already hinted that goats from Natolia or Barbary might be imported with advantage; and there is no reason to doubt that buffaloes from Louisiana, now west Florida, would likewise live here (*z*). Any kind of aquatic fowls might be reconciled to this climate; and we have already mentioned in another place the means by which all their lakes might be stocked with such kinds of fish as might be thought more valuable than those they have already. (*a*).

(*t*) Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iii. col. 805. Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, vol. v. p. 287, 289. Memoires sur le commerce des Hollandois, p. 105. Tour through Spain and Portugal by Udal ap Rheys, p. 186. Hill's history of plants, p. 312. In the memoirs of the French Academy we find it thus described, *Kali Hispanicum*, *supinum*, *annuum*, *seedi minoris folio*.—(*u*) It might perhaps be an useful experiment to sow the seeds of the *Alga Marina* on the coasts, I mean on land, as it is practised in Spain.—(*w*) Essays on husbandry, i. p. 140—162, where the ingenious author has pointed out numerous instances of trees, &c. that might be introduced to advantage.—(*x*) Hartlib's legacy, p. 96 97. These methods have been practised in other countries, and even in these isles they attribute the mettle of their horses to those that swam on shore from the wreck of the Spanish Armada. Would things succeed worse when conducted with design, than when left to accident and chance?—(*y*) Amongst other reasons for recommending this patient and pains-taking animal, one is, the mildness of the climate, which is of importance.—(*z*). They are said to delight in moist and marshy soils; if any doubt should arise as to the climate, it will be removed by observing these animals are also common in the most northern parts of Canada, and even about Hudson's bay. Experiment alone can determine in all these cases; for the most probable attempts sometimes fail, and those more unlikely now and then succeed.—(*a*) Political survey of Britain, vol. i. p. 106—108.

WHEN the people were once habituated to carry their own goods in their own vessels to different parts of the world, for which their countries are so happily seated (*b*), they might easily, as they are naturally inquisitive and industrious, transfer many valuable arts and manufactures into their own; such as the charring of peats, which is practised both in Holland and France, and would render them excellent fuel for drying malt, distilling, and for melting of ore, purposes for which hitherto they have not been used (*c*). The water of Haerlem has a peculiar excellence in bleaching linen, which it derives from a circumstance common in almost every one of these isles, that of the sea forcing a passage through thick banks of sand, to which kind of percolation this singular and very valuable quality is entirely owing (*d*). The inhabitants of the isles of Feroe, which belong to the crown of Denmark, and are situated about fifty four leagues north of Lewis, tan all their leather with the roots of tormentil, which for that reason passes amongst them by the name of bark. This method might be easily introduced, and perhaps improved, in the western isles (*e*). It would be no difficult thing to rise much higher in this manufacture, since the materials for tanning after the Russian method, and that too in the utmost perfection, are easily attained here (*f*). With much greater facility might the caviar from the roes of mackerell be made in these isles (in case they come here before spawning) of which great quantities are annually sent into the Mediterranean and the Levant (*g*). It is not at all impossible

(*b*) This circumstance deserves particular attention. as it facilitates every attempt of this nature to a very great degree.—(*c*) Mr. Boyle commends charring of peat, but declines telling us how it is to be done. Archbishop King says he had seen it. The parliament of Ireland gave a reward for doing it, but did not publish the method. It may be thus performed. Let there be a kiln constructed with vent holes on the sides and at the top. Lay a floor of billets or of dry sticks; on this construct a pile of peats; set fire to the wood; as soon as the peats are thoroughly lighted, stop all the holes gradually except that at the top, and that also as soon as it ceases to smoke; let it then have time to cool, and the peat will be perfectly charred.—(*d*) Ray's travels, vol. i. p. 34. Ker's travels, p. 17. Busching's geography, vol. iii. p. 488.—(*e*) Raii Hist. Plantar. vol. i. p. 617. Debes's description of the islands and inhabitants of Feroe, p. 120. Maples's tanning without bark, Dublin 1739. He asserted that hides tanned therewith were equal in colour, substance, and solidity to those tanned with bark, and done sooner. The house of commons by a vote declared he had fully proved all his allegations. It has been of late discovered that oak saw-dust will tan full as well as oak-bark.—(*f*) Strahlenbeigh's description of Russia, p. 388. Pontoppidan's history of Norway, p. ii. p. 7. for in that country they dress skins in this manner. Bell's travels, vol. i. p. 21. where he informs us, that the best is made at Cazan, and that the peculiar smell is owing to a kind of tar, drawn from the bark of birch (and perhaps from the roots of those trees) by the help of fire. The dye used is logwood. It is dressed with tar instead of oil.—(*g*) Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 8. Willoughb. lib. iv. § vii. p. 101. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. iii. col. 1198. The preparation is by no means difficult. The roe is first washed with vinegar, then thoroughly freed from all the little skins and teguments, next spread and dried, lastly salted, and hung in a net to dry, and so packed. In the same manner the roes of mullets and other fish may be treated, and come to a good market.

that the very best sort of caviar, of which there are two kinds, one in grains, and the other pressed from the roe of the beluga, which sells in still greater quantities and at a higher price, might be also made, if the fish could be brought into any of their lakes that communicate by rivers with the sea (*h*). The manufacture of isinglass, if, as many intelligent persons suspect, it can be made from the gelatinous parts of any large fish, might likewise be brought to perfection in these parts (*i*). The French in North America have a method of making leather of the skins of porpoises, which, though very thin and supple, is capable of resisting a pistol ball. This, if inquired into and known, might be very beneficial in countries where these kind of fish abound (*k*). Those immense quantities of shell fish, which, as we have hinted, sometimes become a nuisance, might by industry and application be rendered very advantageous, and this not only by pickling, potting, and otherwise curing and preserving the fish so as to transport them, but also by making use of the shells, which are capable of being converted into excellent manure, and turned likewise to other valuable uses (*l*).

IN consequence of the lights they would necessarily derive from commerce, we may rationally conclude, that by a strict investigation they would discover many valuable things in their own isles, which have been hitherto, for want of that necessary knowledge, entirely overlooked (*m*). They would doubtless introduce likewise from their observations on the practice of other nations, new methods of draining their marshes, improving their fisheries, constructing water mills and other engines, of which hitherto they have had no idea, because hitherto for such things they have had little use, and of which consequently they could not feel the want (*n*). It is not to be desired, much

(*h*) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1420. Houghton's collections for the improvement of husbandry and trade, vol. iii. p. 282. Strahlenbergh's description of Russia, p. 345.—(*i*) Willoughb. Hist. Pisc. p. 244. Dictionnaire de commerce, tom. i. col. 961. Strahlenbergh's description of Russia, p. 388. The method of making this valuable commodity is very simple. Take the skin, intestines, stomach, fins, and tail of any large fish, let them macerate in water till all the flesh is separated, then evaporate over a slow fire until it becomes a fine jelly, after which spread it as thin as a sheet of paper, and dry it thoroughly.—(*k*) P. Charlevoix, journal d'un voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, vol. i. p. 217.—(*l*) To give one instance: muscle-shells laid on and ploughed into the earth afford a rich and lasting manure; being burned they make excellent lime; equal parts of this lime and fine brick dust tempered with bullock's blood become an admirable cement, which being used either on a flat roof, or spread on a floor, is very compact, beautiful, and lasting.—(*m*) There are very few countries highly improved, which have not been improved in this manner; and the less any country is known, the more discoveries of this kind are to be expected. The natural histories of the several counties in South Britain and Ireland afford the most convincing proofs of this, and it is to be wished we may have the like histories of all the counties in both islands, which would prove of inexpressible utility.—(*n*) Encouragement will soon beget industry, industry improvements; and these will proceed with a quick pace amongst an ingenious and spirited people.

less expected, that all or even any great number of these improvements should be immediately attempted, but there is nothing more probable than that gradually these, and many others which it surpasses the power of a private person to suggest, will take place as opportunities offer from the proposed alterations in the state of these countries, and the circumstances of those who inhabit them (*o*). It was, however, very requisite to mention them here, because men naturally love to look forward to fair prospects of future advantages. Because if any one of these should take place, and it would be very hard if many of them did not, this would excite a spirit of emulation and enquiry, that would infallibly bring to perfection many more (*p*), and because the natural, active, and ambitious spirit of these people, the keenness of their invention, and their great activity when prompted by proper motives, would facilitate such acquisitions as much here as in any part of the world (*q*).

IN order to accomplish so great and so very desirable a work, it will be absolutely requisite that the public, for its own sake, should afford its assistance, and therefore it is highly expedient, before this can be expected, to state succinctly the motives which ought to persuade the particular attention of the state to the rescuing these isles from their present low and dejected condition (*r*). It would, in the first place, add a very considerable province to the British empire, of which though we have long had both the title and possession, yet this has been in a great degree without utility; and, as from a long deduction of facts we have clearly shewn, has for near two hundred years been reputed by the best judges a negligence equally detrimental and disgraceful to government (*s*). By this means multitudes who have been for a series of years, and if things go on

(*o*) The sight of other nations prosperity, on no better funds than are in their possession, will prompt them to an exertion of their faculties, as they will be convinced this is necessary to secure success.—(*p*) For instance, if in Ila they should be able to raise Barilla, the very sale of the commodity would soon put it in their power to set up glass works.—(*q*) If it should be objected, that their continuing so long in so low and unimproved a state seems to contradict this character of their abilities, I desire it may be considered how far this may be accounted for from the following causes. 1. Their being able to acquire such a subsistence as they have been used to, with little industry or labour. 2. Their having no models to excite emulation. 3. Being without any prospect of reward. 4. The unequal distribution of property. 5. The constant emigration of their youth, who, for the reasons before mentioned, are deterred from returning home, and consequently from applying their acquired knowledge to the benefit of their country.—(*r*) In the present situation of things, the only proper motives to excite public attention, are proposing public advantages.—(*s*) Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 525, 526. Smith's England's improvement revived, book vi. Houghton's collections for the improvement of husbandry and trade, vol. iii. 318—339. Puckle's England's path to wealth and honor, Lond. 1700, 120. with very many more that might be cited, as well as many that have been already cited.

in their present state will be for ever unprofitable to the community, might be connected with and rendered useful to society (*t*). Abundance of foreigners from the northern parts of Europe, who are all protestants, might be easily induced to settle under a milder climate, and a better government than their own; and these would unquestionably bring, what is far preferable to riches, industry and the useful arts along with them (*u*). Being incorporated with the natives, and having a like interest in their defence, they would convert these isles, which have hitherto been the weakest parts of our dominions, into a strong barrier, facilitate our navigation, and in time of war render a passage through these seas impracticable to our enemies (*w*). In such circumstances a constant supply of very able and hardy seamen (*x*) might upon any emergency be drawn from hence, who, as soon as it ceased, would cheerfully return to their families and their usual occupations (*y*). As soon as commerce was established, and the people came to have, as they very soon would, a relish for a more commodious way of living, they would draw in some measure the necessaries, and derive all the conveniencies of life, and most of the instruments for tillage, manufactures, and carrying on their respective trades, from Great Britain (*z*). In proportion as they grew still more easy in their circumstances, and numbers amongst them came to have tolerable fortunes, they would probably quit their possessions here to purchase settlements on the continent, so that the accumulated fruits of all their pains and industry would in the end centre in some part or other of this island (*a*). On views far less probable, and much more uncertain, large sums have been spent, and annual supplies given for the settling and maintaining more distant colonies (*b*) which

(*t*) This is a point of infinite importance; for whatever benefits accrued to individuals must at the same time turn to the emolument of the state.—(*u*) Their industry would well intitle them to a settlement, and their posterity would, by manners as well as birth, be zealous British subjects.—(*w*) These are facts supported by experience; and if the inhabitants of these isles were in a condition to fit out privateers, the enemies of Britain would have no chance of escaping. Our statesmen, merchants, and sea officers will discern, as soon as mentioned, the numerous advantages that from these circumstances must arise to the public.—(*x*) The people in general being bred either fishermen or seamen, enured to labour and to a dangerous and difficult navigation, would crowd on board our fleets, without pressing to compel, or high rewards to invite them; a thing of all others the most desirable; and yet, if we depend on past experience, not likely by any other method to be obtained.—(*y*) Thus they would be always in their element, and find their own and the public interest continually and inseparably united.—(*z*) When several branches of domestic industry and foreign commerce come to be successful, their present coarse manufactures will drop, as they find it more for their advantage to export their wool in yarn, and their flax in thread, than to make cloth or linen. The cultivating what are now waste lands, if they had property in them, and markets open for their produce, would furnish much better employment.—(*a*) This, though a great benefit to Britain, will be no detriment to the isles, as it will secure a constant succession of active and industrious inhabitants.—(*b*) As for instance, Nova Scotia and Georgia long and prudently supported by the mother country, from the prospect of future advantages.

having

having in a reasonable space answered our expectations, fully justifies the policy of such measures, and thereby renders it clearly inexcusable to remain blind to the innumerable advantages, which with more than equal certainty might be secured to the state, by taking proper notice of countries that lie at our own doors (*c*). This being once effectually undertaken, tho' without any great expence, the settlement will undoubtedly make its own way; so that if any subsequent assistance should be necessary, it will be cheerfully afforded in consequence of the progress made, and the visible security of its turning to account, and repaying with interest whatever may be farther for such encouragement laid out (*d*).

THESE motives being premised, we will now venture modestly to suggest what seems to be the properest means for effecting these great and salutary purposes. In the first place, it will be requisite to regulate and establish property by law, without which there can be no such thing as industry. Men will not sow, that others may reap. They will not be sedulous in improving, if themselves and their posterity are not to enjoy the profits of their labour (*e*). The public have an interest in these lands; they have long enough suffered them to lie waste and uncultivated; they have a right therefore to take such steps as may have a tendency to promote cultivation, by making the cultivators secure and happy (*f*). This would effectually prevent the natives from abandoning their country, and this alone would soon render these isles populace (*g*). The next thing is, to erect Courts of Judicature in every one of the great isles, in the same manner as Arran and Bute are become a shire already; that justice might be at every man's doors and not as at present on the other side the sea, where it cannot be in every man's power to go and seek it (*h*). Public schools should be erected upon the plan of the charter schools in Ireland, where industry and the English language should be taught

(*c*) On this account, whatever acquisitions they may make through the interposition of the public, will, as they ought, redound, ultimately to the public.—

(*d*) It will be always under the power of the legislature to exact from time to time a specific account of their concerns, from the moment they take these countries under their care.—

(*e*) It would be presumption to lay down any particular method of doing this; that must result from strict inquiry, and mature deliberation.—

(*f*) This is not a new or unsupported suggestion since many acts of the Scots parliament (some of which have been cited) proceed plainly on this principle.—

(*g*) This alone would be of great consequence, as it would preserve many thousand useful subjects, and the produce of their labour to the state.—

(*h*) It might be very expedient also, to establish summary proceedings in respect to wages, for the protection of the fisheries, and to establish a court-merchant for the speedy decision of disputes arising in trade, in order to prevent as much as possible the waste of time and money in such disputes, where both might and ought to be usefully employed.

and practised together (*i*) ; and if in each of the great islands the elements of the mathematics and navigation were taught, the society would reap advantages much superior to any expence that might be incurred (*k*). A custom-house should be erected upon every one of the large islands, with a compleat establishment of officers, which would effectually prevent smuggling, and protect a fair and regular commerce (*l*). To these should be added, copious magazines of salt to be furnished to the natives, receiving flax and hemp in payment, for the service of the royal navy at a settled rate, which would render fisheries practicable (*m*). But if the manufacture of canvass and sail-cloth was established in these isles (even with foreign hemp) which might be done speedily, with facility, and at no great expence, it would undoubtedly answer many excellent purposes ; it would employ a great number of persons of both sexes, and of almost all ages ; it would bring money into these parts of the British dominions, and prevent its being employed in the purchase of this commodity from foreigners ; and, which is no inconsiderable motive to such an undertaking, it would both quickly and effectually excite a spirit of raising hemp and flax ; which circumstance joined to the cheapness of living, would give them great advantages towards gaining so important a manufacture. It would be in another respect highly beneficial to the Western Isles, since in many, more especially of the small ones, the inhabitants make use of coarse woollen cloths for sails, and twist what twigs they can get into cordage. The very precedent and its immediate consequences would awaken the people to industry, and by shewing them what labour would do, put an effectual end to the reign of indolence.—Put to proceed. It will be also requisite that packet boats should be stationed between these isles, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Bristol by which a settled and stated correspondence would be introduced, orders conveyed, and intelligence received, which in a little time would be found in many respects highly beneficial (*n*). A company or two of invalids, composed as far as possible of men bred up in their

(*i*) A few such schools in each of the great isles, endowed with twenty or thirty acres of land, to be manured by the boys brought up in it, and they taught to read a plain and succinct system of the elements of agriculture and gardening, would at once lay a solid and lasting basis for extending useful science and real industry.—(*k*) One school in each island of this kind would be sufficient, and children thus educated at the public charge, might be destined to the public service.—(*l*) Smuggling always keeps people poor, at the same time it makes them dishonest. Fair commerce has the direct contrary effects, and if once put in the inhabitants power, would be chearfully and generally embraced.—(*m*) They know the value of salt and cask, and how to make them turn to account ; and if these could be purchased on the spot for hemp and flax, they would eagerly raise both in great perfection.—(*n*) By these regular conveyances, the people in the isles would have various and constant markets open to them, know the just value of their own commodities, and of those in which they chose to deal, in respect to which hitherto they have been much in the dark.

youth to some trade, manufacture, or other useful occupation, should be sent by way of garrison into the great isles (*o*); and the public might employ annually, for a few years, a small sum, in compounding the debts of seamen and artificers in prison, on condition of their going and settling there with their families, for a certain reasonable term (*p*). Foreigners might be invited by a general naturalization, being protestants, on condition of purchasing land, and setting up some business of public utility, their privileges to be void, if more than five years out of the isles, and not during that space in his majesty's service (*q*). An exclusive right might be allowed to any inhabitant who introduced into any of the isles a manufacture exercised in any of the King's European dominions, for the term of twenty-one years, or for life (*r*). A fishing boat, with its equipage and nets, might be given at the public expence to any native who had served seven years in the navy, upon his marrying and settling in any one of these isles (*s*). It is hoped, that all these propositions will appear plain, practicable, and not attended with any exorbitant charge (*t*).

BUT after all that has been or can be said, the great point in respect to these isles, and therefore reserved for the conclusion, is the FISHERY; for which it is allowed by our own, and also admitted by foreign writers, that they are better situated than any other countries in the world. They have the sea on every side, the Ocean on the north, and the immense Atlantic on the west. They have the advantage of innumerable creeks and havens on every side, so that all winds are favourable to them for some purpose or other; and though the currents in the narrow seas which divide some of the isles, render the sailing between them dangerous to strangers, yet even these sounds are safely and commodiously navigated by the natives, who from their habit in this respect, may be stiled seamen of Nature's making.

THE peculiar fitness of these isles for fishing, is not confined to any particular branch, as is the case in most other places.

(*o*) This would be at once a very cheap, and experience has shewn, a very effectual means of spreading many practical improvements.—(*p*) This might certainly be done with more facility, and with as great benefit to the state, as if they were sent to distant colonies in America.—(*q*) No question this would draw many well skilled in making nets, in the different methods of curing fish, and in several branches of the fishery, to which, for want of instruction, these people have been hitherto strangers.—(*r*) This is no more than is practised in other commercial states, and has been formerly with very happy effects in our own.—(*s*) By this mark of distinction, the flame of public spirit would be kindled and maintained, and the service in the navy considered as a preferment.—(*t*) These are intended only as propositions to be considered, and if any other means more effectual can be devised, they will and ought to be adopted.

They

They have the greatest plenty of herring in all seasons, early and late; and it is said (though there are some grounds to doubt it) in some or other of the large lochs in the Long Island they are taken through the whole year. If therefore by the establishment of magazines, as has been before proposed, this fishery was once thoroughly settled amongst the people here, it might be carried on cheaper, to greater advantage, and with a moral certainty of continuing longer in our hands, than it ever did or can do in the hands of any other nation, since they have been forced to supply by art and management, those advantages that are here the sole gift of Providence (*u*).

BESIDES herring, immense quantities of white fish, flat fish, and of various other kinds, abound upon these coasts, and may be caught in all their lochs. To mention only those that are most saleable, and consequently may become the objects of a lasting as well as a very lucrative commerce; cod, ling, turbot, skate and mackerell (*w*), all of which yield large profits to other countries, and can be taken in none, either in greater quantities, or greater perfection than amongst these isles.

THERE are also all kinds of cetaceous fish, from whales of almost every sort and size down to the grampus (*x*), as also innumerable quantities of seals, and other amphibious animals; and from all these train oil might be made, of which the consumption is continually increasing, and which therefore is, and probably always will be, a very saleable commodity; to say nothing of what might be made of the skin of some, the teeth of others, and the spermaceti produced by one tribe of these creatures. Any one of these fisheries, in the hands of an industrious people, would be sufficient to enrich them, and such the inhabitants of these isles would certainly become, if by proper encouragement it was once put into their power.

FOR in these isles subsistence may be obtained on the easiest terms, and might be so, if they had ten times the number upon them that they now have, consequently labour is and would continue cheap. Their situation enables them to pro-

(*u*) It may be said (and perhaps with truth) that the advantages made by the Dutch in this fishery have been by some writers much exaggerated, that at all events it is now much declined and that the Swedes have lately come in for a considerable share; but this makes nothing against our establishing an herring fishery in these isles, because with their advantages it may be effectually recovered, and as effectually preserved.—(*w*) In the north seas, turbot are taken of so large a size, as that one cut in pieces and salted fills a barrel; the Norwegians dry and smoke skate, which is chiefly exported; the French both dry and pickle mackerell; all these methods of curing are certainly practicable here; nor would there be any difficulty in finding markets.—(*x*) There have been lately great quantities of oil made from the livers of a particular kind of shark, one of which will sometimes yield two barrels.

cure materials for boat-building, and all other utensils, as also naval stores at a very cheap rate, and they need be under no difficulty in equipping such vessels as might be requisite to carry their cargoes even to the most distant markets, or in furnishing hands or provisions requisite for such voyages.

To supply these cargoes, they have incomparable conveniences for bringing their fish on shore as fast as they are caught, as well as for curing, drying, packing, and putting them under suitable inspection, into the best and most saleable condition for every climate, and for every market where fish either now are, or may be hereafter in demand; and their returns might be carried to different ports in Great Britain, and the ships be laden from thence, with such commodities and manufactures as were requisite for the inhabitants of these islands; with which they are now furnished, if furnished at all, by ships putting in by chance; so that the very small trade they have at present is no better than smuggling.

IN proportion as the benefits which must necessarily arise from their several fisheries shall advance, they would gradually raise amongst themselves all the trades requisite for carrying them on, such as sloop and boat-builders, rope and sail-makers, twine-workers, net-makers, coopers, &c. (y); and all these, in proportion as they got money, would interest themselves in the fisheries, in which they would be great gainers, even by the smallest profit, as this would come to them entirely clear, by their deriving otherwise a competent maintenance from the living prices allowed them in their respective occupations. This is another reason for settling this trade so effectually, as that we may never more be rivalled in it by foreigners; and indeed is the true and only reason, why, notwithstanding so many attempts, and some at very considerable expence, we have not been yet able to prevail so far as to take it out of their hands.

WE may add to this, what was not insisted upon before, in speaking of the commodities already in their hands, kelp and fern ashes, of which they make very great quantities, and might make much more, and sell them at a better rate, if all degrees of people were intitled to the effects of their own industry and labour, and could have recourse to open, regular, and constant markets, where all things would find their proper value, and the produce go into the pockets of those from whose labour it arose, and to whom alone it justly belongs.

(y) In Holland they reckon upwards of thirty trades depending on the fishery; and it was by this management, and their excellent regulations in relation to catching, curing, pickling, packing, and repacking their herrings, for which we have far greater conveniences, that gained them the reputation they are in all over Europe.

WE may now hope it is fairly and fully proved, that with due attention, and very moderate encouragement, these people might be put into a way of becoming useful to themselves and to the state. This once done, the improvements before mentioned would follow of themselves, and we might very soon, perhaps in half a century, expect to see five hundred thousand people in these isles, whose consumption of exciseable commodities would produce a revenue of at least as many pounds, and their industry add twice as much annually to the public stock. The prospect of this was the sole motive of the great pains (z) that have been taken in this section; and may divine Providence prosper the British administration which shall carry this good work into execution!

(z) I desire to be understood literally, for the merit I claim is from the pains, and not from the perfection of this article, which I am sensible is very incomplete: For living at so great a distance, having few correspondents, and being no way connected with the inhabitants, I may be misinformed as to facts, and of course may be mistaken in reasoning from them. But in this I am clear, that if these isles are ever examined by authority, they will appear in a much better light than I have placed them.

SECTION V.

Part I. *Islands of Orkney.*

THE method pursued in treating this subject. These isles were certainly inhabited in the earliest times. Who these inhabitants were very uncertain. The opinion is that they were Picts. Whoever they were, subdued by the Romans. Probable that the most ancient inhabitants were the Papæ and Peti. These were conquered, and in a great measure extirpated by the Norwegians, who in the ninth century erected these and the Shetland Isles into a county dependent on the crown of Norway. Eynar, their third count, celebrated for having introduced the use of turf. His descendants in possession of this country for the space of five centuries. At what time they were converted to Christianity. The cathedral founded and dedicated to St. Magnus, a count of Orkney, and considered as a Christian martyr. The populous and flourishing condition of these isles under their counts. The title and possession devolves to the noble family of Sinclair. The sovereignty of the Orkney and Shetland isles in consequence of a marriage with the Princess Margaret, daughter to Christian III. King of Denmark and Norway, transferred to James III. King of Scots. He obtains the absolute possession by the voluntary cession of Sinclair Earl of Orkney. The town of Kirkwall erected by him into a royal burgh. The manner in which these isles were governed by lieutenants after they became subject to the Kings of Scotland. Queen Mary created James Hepburn,

Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, Duke of Orkney. Robert Stuart raised to that dignity by his nephew King James the VI. His son Patrick Earl of Orkney beheaded. The royal revenue in these islands let to farm. Grant of them by way of mortgage to the noble family of Morton. That grant reduced, and the isles re-annexed to the crown by act of parliament. Dissolved by another act, and again granted to the house of Morton. This mortgage declared irredeemable by act of parliament. Account of the bishopric and its revenues, the number of the Southern Isles, and a description of the most remarkable amongst them; the like enumeration and description of the Northern Isles. A general idea of their importance, from extent of territory, disposition and situation; probable that they might be rendered of much greater consequence if the inhabitants were properly encouraged. The nature of the climate, seasons, and other circumstances. The soil and produce of the Orkneys. Admirably seated for every kind of fishery. Account of the temper, manners, customs, and employments of the inhabitants. Their number, commerce, circumstances, and other particulars. Several means proposed for rendering these people more useful to themselves, and to the empire of Great Britain; by making these isles the centre of the herring, white, and whale fishery; by establishing in them the manufactures requisite for the carrying on that trade; by exciting, encouraging, and extending their commerce to foreign countries; by erecting a university in Pomona or the main land, with the advantages that would attend such an institution. And by the united companies fixing a magazine in them for supplying with East India commodities the Hans Towns, Germany, and the northern parts of Europe.

WE are now come to the last section, relative to the islands that depend upon Great Britain, and which by proper attention, and some necessary encouragements, might undoubtedly be made in many respects as highly subservient to her capital interests, as any of her more distant colonies (a). In order to render this important truth more apparent, it will be necessary to give, in the first place, a succinct history of these isles, from which it will become manifest, that they were not always in a low or contemptible, much less in a deserted or neglected condition (b); in the next it will be requisite to enter upon a short description of them, from which it will be no less evident, they are countries, that, though long

(a) The improvement solicited in favour of these distant provinces, will have this powerful motive in preference to colonies, that they are already peopled, consequently, the beneficial effects expected, will be more certain, less expensive, and sooner obtained. Besides, whatever advantages accrue to them, will immediately and constantly result to this country, of which they will then become a part, in consequence of these improvements.—(b) If there had been any regular, authentic, and comprehensive history of these islands, this labour might have been spared; as there is not, we may hope it will be acceptable.

sighted, are not even now in so low a state, as not to merit our attention (*c*); and lastly, it will be proper to give an account of their present situation and circumstances, and also of the number, condition, and occupations of their inhabitants; from whence it may be certainly concluded, that with a reasonable and timely degree of public notice and suitable assistance, they might be brought to answer the most valuable purposes in contributing alike to the security and to the advantage of the British empire, and thereby fully compensate whatever in their present condition may be required to put them on a tolerable, if not upon an equal foot with the rest of our dominions (*d*).

It is altogether impossible to say with historical certainty, when, how, or by whom these islands were first planted; because from the very earliest accounts, that are any where extant, in regard to commerce and navigation, we find, even the most distant of them are treated as countries that were already known and inhabited (*e*). As such, they were visited by the Phœnicians, from whom one of the most northern of them, or rather one of the Shetland Isles, was stiled THULE, that is, dark or obscure, as being then probably very full of wood (*f*). An ancient author, Antonius Diogenes, who flourished not long after Alexander the Great, wrote a large work concerning them (*g*), the materials of which are said to have been taken from cypress tables preserved in the tombs of Mantima, and Dercelis at Tyre, which work is indeed lost, but an extract, of it is still preserved (*h*), and this evidence sufficient to prove, that the people of Tyre were acquainted with these islands, and from them the knowledge that there were such countries came to be communicated to the Greeks (*i*).

If we trust to the accounts of later historians, they will insinuate to us, that they were in antient times inhabited by the Picts or Pights, who were a northern nation, distinguished by their being a fair, tall, comely, robust, and war-

(*c*) These countries flourished formerly, when the manners of the northern nations were different from what they are at present; by adopting therefore a new system, they, as well as other northern countries, might be again brought to flourish; and this new system is nothing more than uniting them really and effectually, instead of partially, or rather nominally, to the empire of Britain.—(*d*) By this means, the industry of the inhabitants would be better applied, and the whole produce of their industry enter into the channel of general circulation.—(*e*) The Egyptians and the Phœnicians addicted themselves first to navigation, the former turned their views to the Indies, and the latter towards the north.—(*f*) Bochart. Chanaan. lib. i. cap. 40. All the ancient authors support this etymology, by the epithets they bestow on this island wherever situated.—(*g*) G. I. Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. i. cap. 15. He wrote twenty-four books of the incredible things reported of Thule.—(*h*) Phot. Biblioth. mem. 166. This work is also mentioned by Porphyry, in his life of Pythagoras, and by Servius on the Georgics of Virgil.—(*i*) Herod. Clio, cap. 1. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 74. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. p. 531.

like people (*k*). We are likewise told that one Belus, King of Orkney, invaded Scotland in the reign of Eoganus or Ewen the Second, by whom however he was defeated, and flew himself thereupon, to avoid being made prisoner (*l*). This would scarce have deserved to be mentioned, if there had not been authority to prove, that the name of Belus was actually to be seen in an ancient Gothic or Runic character on a stone monument, preserved within memory, in the church of Birfa, in Orkney (*m*). We are also told of one Ganus (*n*), a monarch of these isles, who was led in triumph at Rome in the time of Claudius Cæsar (*o*); but it must be allowed, that as on the one hand, there seems to be no just grounds to reject the authorities by which this fact is supported; so on the other side, it is very difficult to reconcile it with what Tacitus says as to the first discovery of these isles by the Romans, when his father-in-law Agricola commanded in Britain. At that time however it must be allowed, that they were well inhabited, since he asserts, that they were not only discovered, but subdued (*p*). The Roman poets boast not a little of the conquest of the Orcades (*q*), which have been reckoned by some writers as making, on the division of the empire, a part of the territories of Constantine, one of the sons of Constantine the Great (*r*). But leaving these classical guides at this period, we must now have recourse to our own historians (*s*).

At the time Columb, or St. Columba, so often mentioned in the former section, visited the Court of Brudæus King of

(*k*) *Johannis de Fordun Scotichron. lib. i. cap. 29. Langhorn. Antiq. Albion. p. 275. R. Maule de Antiquit. Gentis Scotorum, lib. ii.—(l)* *Hect. Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. ii. fol. 29.* who calls him Balus. *Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hist. lib. iv. p. 108.—(m)* Dr. Wallace's description of the Orkneys, p. 110. He says the stone with the word Belus upon it, in odd ancient characters, remained then in the church of Birfa.—(*n*) *Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. iii. p. 40. Less. de Reb. gest. Scotor. lib. ii. p. 99.* is silent on this head. *Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hist. lib. iv. p. 110.* declares that he disbelieves the fact.—(*o*) *Eutrop. Rom. Hist. Brev. lib. vii. cap. 7. P. Orosii adversus Paganos Hist. lib. vii. cap. 6. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. lib. i. cap. 3.* Those who mention Suetonius, as saying the same thing, are misled by an error in some copies, wherein Orcades is put for Stœchades, which are the islands Hieres, at the mouth of the Rhone. But the great authority is Pomponius Mela, who mentions the Orcades, and who flourished unde. Claudius.—(*p*) *In vita Agricolæ, cap. 10. Hanc oram prævissimæ maris tunc primum Romana Classis circumvecta, Insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thyle, quam hætenus nix, et Hiems abdebant.*—(*q*) *Juvenal. Sat. ii. § 161. Claudian. de Consul. Honor. Stat. lib. v. Protrept. ad Crispin.—(r)* *Polyd. Vi gil. Hist. Angl. lib. iii. p. 67.—(f)* *Hect. Boeth. Scotorum Hist. lib. fol. vii. 128. Polyd. Vi gil. Angl. Hist. lib. iii. p. 79. Bale descript. Brit. P. ii. p. 186.* mention Servanus as sent from Rome about the middle of the fifth century, and consecrated Bishop of the Orkneys. He certainly preached the gospel in Scotland, and in these isles. For we find a church dedicated to his memory, near Loch Levin; and, which was their custom, the people of Orkney assumed his as a surname, which subsists to this day in the family of St. Serf.

the Piëts, that is about the middle of the ninth century, he met there with a Prince of the Orkneys, who was tributary to that monarch, to whom he recommended his disciple Cormuc, who afterwards visited his dominions (*t*). It is generally held that, together with the rest of the Piëtish kingdom, these isles fell under the power of Kenneth M'Alpin, who established the sovereignty of the Scots over all North Britain (*u*), by whom it is supposed they were retained, until Donald Bain gave them up to the Norwegians; from whom, together with the rest of the islands, the successors of Malcolm Canmoir, if we may trust the Scots writers endeavoured to recover them, without being able to prevail (*w*).

It must be admitted, that there are various circumstances in this detail that are very far from being clear, and therefore some notice is due to a less known, though not less probable account, preserved in the ancient records of the people of Orkney, in which it is expressly said, that the Orkneys (and probably the Shetland Isles) were originally inhabited by two nations, the Papi or Papæ, and the Peti (*a*). The former of these possessed the Northern isles, in the appellations of some of which their name is still preserved. The latter occupied the Southern Islands, which were from thence stiled Terra Petorum, and the narrow sea, which divides them from the continent of Scotland, Fretum Petlandicum, now corruptly called the Piëtland or Pightland, more correctly the Petland Firth (*b*). From hence, with some degree of probability, we may collect, that the prince before mentioned, with whom Columb, the apostle of the northern Piëts, conversed at the court of Brudæus, was the chief of these Peti, and not, as he is generally represented, a tributary Piëtish prince (*c*).

(*t*) Adamnan. vit. S. Columbæ, lib. 2. cap. 42. Bed. Eccles. Hist. Gent. Anglor. lib. iii. cap. 4. Johannis de Fordun Scotichron. lib. iv. cap. 2.—(*u*) Heft. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. x. Lest. de Reb. gest. Scot. lib. iv. p. 182.—(*w*) Dr. Wallace's Description of the Orkneys, p. 115.—(*a*) This ancient and authentic record, which is a solemn return to Eric, then King of Norway, by the Bishop, Chief Justice, principal persons, and Heretors of Orkney, under the seal of the island, bearing date May 4, A. D. 1403, reciting at large from their archives, the descent and right of William Sinclair, the then earl, to that honour, was in the beginning of the current century in the possession of Mr. Robert Norry, minister at Dundee.—(*b*) Dr. Wallace's description of the islands of Orkney, p. 129.—(*c*) It has been thought (vide Sibbaldi Introduct. ad Hist. veteris Scotiæ, p. 35.) we may learn something as to the original country of these Peti, from Herodotus, Polym. p. 182. where mentioning the tribes of Thracians, in the army which Xerxes led into Greece, he sets down the Peti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapæi, Derfæi, Edoni, and Satræ. If these afterwards penetrated into the Northern parts of Europe, they might easily pass from thence into these isles. It has been mentioned as something tending towards a proof, that among the most antient families in these isles, were the Bistanes and the Seaters; but to such conjectures we ought to pay no great regard.

THE great country of Norway was anciently divided into several little principalities, governed by their respective princes or chiefs, called in their own language, Fylkis Konga, and stiled in the Latin historians Philarchi (*d*). Harold Harfargre, i. e. Haroldus Comatus, five pulchri comus, that is the bright or fair-haired Harold, resolving to make himself sole monarch of Norway, attacked those little Princes, and after a long and bloody war reduced most of them, and forced the rest to fly with such of their followers as were content to be the companions of their fortunes into Iceland, Ferroe, Shetland, Orkney, and other islands, about the year 875 (*e*). He followed them with a fleet and army into these islands of which we are speaking, and landing first in Shetland, and then proceeding to the Orkneys, left in them a considerable force, under the command of Rongwald, a nobleman of distinguished birth, and high in his favour, to whom he gave the title of Earl or Count; and he with the Norwegians under his command subdued, and as the northern writers say (which is perhaps beyond the truth) utterly exterminated the ancient inhabitants (*f*), bringing in continual supplies of his own countrymen, at that time very powerful by sea, to inhabit these countries, which they with good reason esteemed better than their own; and thus, if their relations are to be relied on, which are indeed better connected, and have an air of greater probability than what we meet with in our own historians, these countries fell into the hands of the Norwegians (*g*).

RONGWALD, who was a potent nobleman, and had large possessions in Norway, made a free gift of these new acquired estates to his brother Sigurd or Sward, who enjoyed them during his life, and left them to his son Gothurn, who survived him only one year, and dying without issue the earldom reverted to Rongwald, who had three legitimate sons, one of whom was Rollo, afterwards named Robert, the first Duke of Normandy, and three bastards, the youngest of whom was by his menial servant (*h*). His name was Einar or Eynard, on whom his father bestowed Orkney and Shetland, and from whom all the succeeding earls lineally descended. He is called

(*d*) Angrimus Jonas Comment. de Islandia, P. ii. § 5. Id. de Islandicæ Gentis primordiis et veteri Republica, cap. ii.—(*e*) Torsei Hist. Norv. P. ii. p. 49. Angrimus Jonas ubi supra.—(*f*) Rerum Orcadens. Hist. lib. i. cap. 3.—(*g*) The history of the affairs of Orkney, published by To fæus, but collected chiefly from the Islandic writers, corresponds in this respect with the record before mentioned. It clearly appears from that very curious fragment, the people of Orkney had great collections of valuable pieces in their archives, which (if not removed to Norway) are all dissipated or destroyed.—(*h*) Rerum Orcadens. Hist. lib. i. cap. 7.

in Latin Einar de Cespite or Einarus Torffeinarus (*i*), in his own country language Torf Einar or Turffield, from his first teaching his people the use of turf or peat for fuel.

THE candid reader will not probably be displeased, if we submit to his judgment our conjecture on so singular a subject. It is possible, that the ancient inhabitants of these isles, whoever they were, might, as the Britons were accustomed to do before the coming of Cæsar, make use of their woods as fortresses or places of strength, to which they retired upon any invasion. This, it is likely, occasioned their being almost all destroyed, by the Norwegians, who afterwards suffered no small distress, in a country rendered colder by the destruction of these forests, as well as for want of that fuel which they had hitherto supplied. It is therefore no wonder that Eynar should be so highly celebrated as he is, by the Islandic and Norwegian bards, for finding out the use of turf, without which these islands could scarcely be inhabited in their present naked and exposed condition (*k*).

His grandson Sward the second was the first Christian Earl, and his great grandson Magnus, being barbarously murdered by his cousin, Haco, from an ambitious desire of enjoying the whole patrimony, came from that circumstance, and the innocence of his life, to be reputed a saint and martyr (*l*). To his memory, Rolandus one of his successors, erected, dedicated, and endowed the cathedral church of St. Magnus (*m*), which was enlarged into a very stately building in succeeding times, and still remains the unquestionable monument of this fact, as well as the great ornament of the town of Kirkwall (*n*), which seems to have derived its name, as well as its consequence from this structure.

THE people of these islands remained several ages under a long succession of these Earls, and dependent on the kingdom of Norway (*o*), under a very easy and equitable constitution, the Earl living upon his demesne lands, the bishop and clergy having also a support suitable to their respective stations, and the inhabitants enjoying a lucrative and extensive commerce,

(*i*) It was the custom of the Norwegians, and in those times perhaps of all the northern nations, to distinguish their princes by such appellations.—(*k*) *Rer. Orcad. Hist. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 19.* which agrees also with the record of Orkney, *Angl. Jonas de Islandia, cap. vi.*—(*l*) Buchanan says they were converted to Christianity by St. Magnus; and in contempt of episcopacy, would have us believe he left a cup of an enormous size, out of which he drank, which at his accession was presented to every new bishop, that the people by his first draught might draw an omen of his abilities and administration.—(*m*) *Rer. Orcad. Hist. lib. i. cap. 25.* It is affirmed that Magnus suffered April 16. A. D. 1110.—(*n*) Torfæus conjectures, that this town was in the ancient language of the natives; called Kirkiuvog, i. e. the bay under the church; in Latin, or rather latinized, Kircua, or Cracoviaca, as Buchanan calls it.

(*o*) According to this account, which for those times seems sufficiently clear and consistent, the Norwegians held these isles 593 years.

which enabled them to build and maintain many stout ships (*p*). Of the truth of all these facts, independant of tradition, records, and histories, there still remain visible and indubitable testimonies relative to these different periods; such as, places in which large stones are set up in a particular form, which from the comparison with those of the like kind in other northern nations, appear to have been consecrated to the worship in those early and barbarous ages paid to Wodin or Odin (*q*); the Pits, Picts, or Pight Houses, which, now overgrown with earth, are of a very strange and singular structure; the Wart or Ward Hill in every island, on which beacons were placed, to give notice of fleets seen, or enemies landed; the remains of forts and watch towers in almost every island; the cathedral and many other churches and chapels erected after these people became Christians (*r*). Many of these Earls had also ample estates in Norway and Iceland, and held likewise the earldoms of Caithness and Sutherland in Scotland, but residing chiefly at their palace in Orkney, spent most of their revenues there; which contributed no doubt to enrich their subjects, and increase their esteem and respect for these Lords (*s*).

THIS succession of Earls ended in Magnus the fifth, to whom, in right of his mother, succeeded Malis Earl of Strathern in Scotland, who held the earldoms both of Orkney and Caithness. This Earl, by two wives, left five daughters, by which the inheritance came to be divided; and possessed by different families, till at length it was again united in the noble family of Sinclair (*t*), who were in possession: when by virtue of the contract of marriage between James the third, King of Scots, and the Princess Margaret, daughter to Christian the third, King of Denmark and Norway, all the rights of the last mentioned monarch were transferred by way of mortgage, redeemable for fifty thousand florins, part of the marri-

(*p*) In the history published by Torfæus, there are many signal instances of naval armaments, and of great resort of shipping to these isles.—(*q*) P. Diac. de gestis Longobardorum, lib. i. cap. 9. Ol. Worm. Monument. Danica. Rer. Orcad. Hist. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 19.

(*r*) Dr. Wallace, p. 82. informs us, that besides the cathedral, there are 31 churches, all built in old times, and upwards of 100 ancient chapels in these islands, which he observes, shew the inhabitants of this country were in past ages, as well as in the present, that is, more than half a century ago, much addicted to devotion.—(*s*) The people in these times had good reason to think themselves happy, their property was secure, they had the protection of Norway, a friendly intercourse with Scotland; their earls lived magnificently, and lived amongst them; the church was rich, and the clergy natives; to which were added, the benefits attending their situation, a free commerce with all their neighbours.—(*t*) The inquisitive reader may find the several descents of these daughters succinctly stated in the record before-mentioned.

age portion of sixty thousand florins, to King James; which contract bears date at Copenhagen, September the 8th, A. D. 1468 (*u*).

THESE islands being thus transferred, it is evident that King James came only in the place of his father-in-law, Christian the first, King of Denmark and Norway; that is, the homage and the sovereignty of these isles were yielded and made over to him, while the actual possession remained as before in the Earl of Orkney (*w*). But by a transaction between the same King, and William, the son of Henry the second, son to Henry the first, who was son to William Lord Sinclair, by the daughter of Malise, Earl of Orkney, the then Earl, within less than three years after the cession of these islands, had a compensation given him for the earldom (*x*), by the grant of lands then in possession of the crown, in the county of Fife; in consequence of which, the King's title being rendered complete, these islands were annexed to the crown of Scotland by act of parliament (*y*). James the third, as appears by this exchange and annexation, had a true notion of their value; and that he might promote the welfare of their inhabitants, he graciously, and at the same time prudently, erected Kirkwall into a royal borough, and preserved to the people their customs and privileges, and more especially those of the Udalmen or freeholders (*z*). They were governed during that and the succeeding reign by the King's Lieutenants; and notwithstanding their surrender of the earldom, the family of Sinclair, about the year 1501, obtained a very beneficial grant of the rents of the earldom, which they enjoyed for many years (*a*). However, it seems they were not content with this, but aspired to the recovering the entire possession. To make this as clear as at this distance of time is possible, it is to be observed, that amongst the reasons which determined William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, to resign his honours to the crown, as has been before mentioned, one was, a desire of substituting his son William, by Marjory, daughter to Alexander, eldest son to the Earl of Sutherland, his second wife, to his elder son William by Elizabeth his first wife, daughter of James Earl of Douglas, as his heir in the

(*u*) H. R. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 191. where the marriage contract is at large inserted.—(*w*) This earl had been chancellor of Scotland in the preceding reign, and 29th of April 1456 created Earl of Caithness.—(*x*) We shall hereafter have occasion to mention some of the motives which are supposed to have determined the earl to this measure.—(*y*) This act of parliament is preserved in Haddington's collections from the records.—(*z*) In Norway, this is odal-right, and was established before the time of Harold Harfagre; who, though he subdued and extinguished the petty Princes or Chiefs, went no farther than fixing a tax (and that but a small one) upon these freeholders, stiled Odels-skat. In order to enter thoroughly into this matter, consult Acta Societatis Reg. Hafn. tom. ii. p. 270.—(*a*) The quit-rent reserved to the crown was no more than 433l. 6s. 8d. Scots, and all the rest was paid to and enjoyed by the Sinclair family

earldom of Caithness, and the best part of his estate. This he accordingly did (*b*); and notwithstanding King James the fourth, in 1482, created Henry Sinclair, the son of William the eldest son, Lord Sinclair, and declared him head and chief of his family, as in truth he was (*c*), yet his son concurred with George Earl of Caithness, the grandson of William, in whose favour that earldom had been resigned, in a bold attempt upon the Orkneys, where they landed with a considerable force; but the people of the country, being headed by Sir James Sinclair, then Captain of the castle of Kirkwall, a bastard son of the same family, attacked and routed them at a place called Summers Dale, on the 18th of May 1529, when the Earl of Caithness, and about five hundred of his followers, were killed or drowned, and the Lord Sinclair and all the rest were made prisoners (*d*).

THIS Sir James Sinclair, presuming on the merit of his great service, procured from King James the fifth a grant of the two fine islands of Sanda and Eda, upon a false suggestion that they were only holms fit for grazing, which is supposed to be the reason that Buchanan has left them out in his short account of these islands, on a supposition that they really were so. But the King being informed of this imposition, and expressing a very high resentment thereat, Sir James was so terrified on the arrival of that monarch at Kirkwall in 1534, that upon the first news of it he threw himself into the sea at a place called the Loup of Linkness (*e*). This monarch was entertained by Dr. Robert Maxwell, then Bishop, during his stay; and having composed all the troubles, he carried away with him some of the most factious persons, that they might create no more disturbances. When he left these isles, that prince conceived so high an opinion of the loyalty of the people of Kirkwall, that on his return to Edinburgh, he granted them a confirmation of their charter (*f*).

SOON after the attempt before mentioned, he granted the revenues of the earldom to James Earl of Murray, which grant however never took effect (*g*); but the widow of the Lord Sinclair continued to enjoy that beneficial lease, which has been mentioned, to the year 1540; when the rents of these islands were let again to Sir Oliver Sinclair at two thousand

(*b*) This appears from the charter of the new creation, dated the 8th of December 1476, and the honour still remains in this line.—(*c*) Charta in publ. Archivis.—(*d*) Mackenzie's collections. Hollinshed's History of Scotland, p. 317. Dr. Wallace's description of the islands of Orkney, p. 95.—(*e*) This is a promontory to the north of Deer Sound in Pomona, and the fact is preserved by tradition in the country.—(*f*) This charter bears date Feb. 8th, A. D. 1536.—(*g*) Great Seal Register, B. 26. n. 25.

pounds a year (*h*). In 1565, Queen Mary made a grant of them to her natural brother (*i*), Lord Robert Stuart; which, however, was revoked upon the Queen's becoming of age (*k*). In 1567, the same princess was prevailed upon, not only to make a new grant of these islands to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, but also to raise him to the title of Duke of Orkney, in consequence of her unhappy resolution to become his wife (*l*). Upon his flight and forfeiture, they fell again to the crown, and in that state continued for some years (*m*); when Lord Robert Stuart reviving his claim on the grant made to him seventeen years before, and making use of that influence which he had over the young King James the sixth as his uncle, and being himself also a person of great address, prevailed at length so far, as not only to get that grant renewed, but also by letters patent, dated October 28th 1581, got himself at the same time created Earl of Orkney (*n*). But in a few years, for the violences and oppressions by him committed, that grant was revoked (*o*), but renewed again in two years, upon his recovering the favour of his nephew King James the sixth, and two years after that confirmed to him and to his son (*p*). In 1600, Patrick Earl of Orkney, son to Robert, obtained a new grant; and being a proud man and desirous of extending his power and amassing wealth, he treated the people so ill, that upon their complaints, he was imprisoned; and even in that state having solicited and excited an open rebellion, he was in 1615 convicted of high treason, and beheaded (*q*). After this, to quiet the minds of the people of Orkney, a public proclamation was made by authority from the crown, declaring that these islands should never more be dissevered or granted in private property (*r*).

SIR James Stuart, afterwards Lord Ochiltree, became in 1614 the King's farmer general for these islands; and in a few years after, the complaints against him were so many and so loud, that he was imprisoned (*s*). In 1624, the then Chancellor, Sir George Hay, had the collection of these rents,

{*h*} This fully appears from the entries on the exchequer rolls yet extant.—(*i*) Great Seal Register, B. 35. n. 494.—(*k*) Ibid. B. 36. n. 92. A grant being at the same time made to James Earl of Bothwell, and his heirs male.—(*l*) Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. lib. xviii. Spotiswood's History of Scotland, Book iv. p. 203.—(*m*) The rents during this space were accounted for to the treasury.—(*n*) Spotiswood's History of Scotland, Book vi. p. 315. Moyle's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 56.—(*o*) Great Seal Register, B. 37. n. 414.—(*p*) Many complaints had been continually made against this Earl Robert, who notwithstanding obtained this grant. Great Seal Register, B. 63. fol. 210.—(*q*) Spotiswood's History of Scotland, Book vii. p. 521. R. Johnston's Britannicarum Hist. lib. xv. p. 486.—(*r*) The order for this proclamation is entered in the register of the Privy Council.—(*s*) Privy Seal Register, B. 82. fol. 280. Spotiswood's History of Scotland, Book vii. p. 541.

but he surrendered his grant three years after (*t*), and in 1633, upon a very strong representation of the people of Orkney, these isles were again re-annexed to the crown more strictly than ever (*u*). The rents were then let by lease upon such terms as the treasury thought expedient, which were sometimes higher and sometimes lower according to the respective interests of those by whom they were obtained. It does not however appear, that the people were very well satisfied even with this method; the true reason of which might very probably be that their trade failing, and the produce of the rents of the crown, being annually carried out of the country, created gradually, more especially amongst the meaner sort of people, an extreme, and at the same time, a general poverty, the most natural source of popular discontents.

At length, A. D. 1643, the then Earl of Morton procured a grant of these islands, to himself and to his heirs, with the whole jurisdictions and regalities to them belonging, in the nature of a mortgage, redeemable upon the payment of thirty thousand pounds sterling (*w*), which he enjoyed during his life, and retiring thither in the time of the troubles, finished it there (*x*). His family was dispossessed by Cromwell, who caused a small fort to be erected at Kirkwall, and placed a garrison there to secure the islands against the attempts of foreigners (*y*). After the restoration, the then Earl of Morton resumed the possession; but from an apprehension that by the general revocation, these isles were again devolved to the crown (*z*), a new grant by way of mortgage, was in 1662 obtained from King Charles the second, to the Lord Viscount Grandison, in trust for the support of the family of Morton (*a*). But in 1669, both this and the former grant were reduced, in the stile of the Scots law, that is, declared null and void, by decree of the court of session (*b*), and the isles of Orkney and Shetland once more annexed to the crown by a very strict act of parliament (*c*).

THE rents were from this time let as they formerly had been, upon lease particularly in the year 1671, to George Scot (*d*),

(*t*) Great Seal Register, B. 50. n. 355. At the high rent of 40,000 marks Scots.—(*u*) Act. 10. P. i. Car. i.—(*w*) Great Seal Register, B. 57. n. 334.—(*x*) He died, 7th of August, 1648, in the 66th year of his age. Simpson's collections.—(*y*) Dr. Wallace's Description of the islands of Orkney, p. 79.—(*z*) Act 53. P. i. Car. ii. Act 8. Sess. 2. P. i. Car. ii.—(*a*) Great Seal Register, 1660—1671. n. 214.—(*b*) This decree at the instance of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, the King's advocate, bears date 15th February 1669.—(*c*) Act 13. Car. ii. Parl. 2. passed December 17th 1669, by which Orkney and Shetland are erected into a Stewarty.—(*d*) When no lease subsisted, as was the case, A. D. 1691, the rents were collected by the crown's chamberlain, who accounted to the treasury.

for the annual rent of forty thousand marks Scots, making two thousand two hundred seventy-seven pounds fifteen shillings and six pence sterling, and in like manner, at different rates to different persons, by the treasury in Scotland, for the benefit of the crown, the revenues of the bishoprick, on the re-establishment of episcopacy, being restored to Dr. Thomas St. Serf, the then bishop (*e*); until at the revolution, a change was made in the ecclesiastical establishment, and then the bishops rents reverted to the crown (*f*).

IN 1707, after repeated applications to parliament, in reference to the manner in which the grant to the earl of Morton had been reduced, James then Earl of Morton procured a fresh dissolution of these isles, in the Scots parliament, and a new grant, subject to a fee duty of five hundred pounds sterling, per annum, to himself and his heirs, in the old form of a mortgage, redeemable on the payment of thirty thousand pounds sterling (*g*). A. D. 1742, by a private act, passed in the parliament of Great Britain, this grant was made absolute and irredeemable, which is the present state of these islands (*h*). The gross rent of which, according to an account given by the earl himself, amounted to thirty thousand six hundred sixty-six pounds ten shillings and eleven pence Scots, or two thousand five hundred fifty-six pounds one shilling sterling, and the nett produce twenty thousand pounds Scots, or one thousand six hundred sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence sterling (*i*). In consequence of the act of parliament, passed in the reign of his late majesty King George the second, for abolishing heretable jurisdictions in North Britain, the Earl of Morton received seven thousand two hundred pounds (*k*); but whether the whole of this sum, or if not, what part thereof, was on account of his interest in Orkney and Shetland, does not appear.

BESIDES the crown lands, his lordship has likewise a grant of the lands belonging to the bishoprick of Orkney (*l*). In the

(*e*) Dr. Wallace's description of the islands of Orkney. p. 103.—(*f*) Act iii. Par. i. William and Mary. Act v. Session ii. Par. i. William and Mary. Act xxix. and xxxii of the same sessions and parliament.—(*g*) This was a private act, passed in the 4th session of the 1st parliament of Scotland, in the reign of Queen Anne.—(*h*) That is, in regard to the crown rent, now received from the inhabitants.—(*i*) Earl of Morton's memorial, in the cause between his lordship and the Earl of Galloway and others, 12 June 1758, p. 11.—(*k*) Stat. 20 Geo. II. cap. 43. § 1. See also the authentic list of the sums adjudged and paid to the claimants under that act.—(*l*) As these bishops received their education in some other country, and were almost equally connected with Norway and Scotland, this obliged them to cultivate their understandings, and to gain a thorough knowledge of both courts, that they might be the better able to support their own interests, and those of their see; and some of them also (the times considered) were men of learning.

times of popery this see was of very considerable value; and the prelates, who sat there, were many of them men of very distinguished abilities (*m*), and of such credit, as to be frequently intrusted with the government of the country (*n*), employed in foreign embassies (*o*), and advanced to civil offices, by which they accumulated wealth, no small part of which they laid out in embellishing their cathedral in building and improving their palaces, and in the support of other public uses (*p*). At the time of the reformation, Bishop Bothwell exchanged the temporality of this bishopric with Lord Robert Stuart, for the abbey of Holy-rood house (*q*); in consequence of which, that nobleman, and his son Patrick enjoyed the revenues of the bishopric as well as of the earldom of Orkney (*r*). In 1614, all the lands of the bishopric and ecclesiastics were resigned to the crown; in consideration of which King James the sixth (*s*) granted back a sufficient subsistence to the bishop and clergy, exempting the lands so granted from the power of the earl and his officers, and allowing the bishop to appoint a sheriff and other officers of his own, and granting him likewise the patronage of all the benefices (*t*). In 1653, the value of these lands was about ten thousand pounds Scots per annum, and a third part being deducted for ministers stipends, and the remainder, which was the clear rent of the Bishopric, amounting to above five hundred pounds sterling, was then by a grant from the governing powers enjoyed by the city of Edinburgh (*u*). After the restoration they were again settled upon the bishop, and after the revolution annexed to the crown. His Lordship as has been said, en-

(*m*) See the memorial before cited, p. 15.—(*n*) Eric, heir apparent of Denmark and Norway, A. D. 1422, appointed Thomas Bishop of Orkney governor of the earldom. Hist. Orcad. lib. ii. p. 178. William Bishop of Orkney, and his successor Andrew, had the collection of crown revenues from A. D. 1474 to A. D. 1501. A commission was granted by the privy council to George Graham, bishop of Orkney, 10th May 1620, to inquire into and redress grievances in Shetland.

(*o*) William Tulloch, bishop of Orkney, had a great share in negotiating the treaty of marriage between James the third, and the princess Margaret of Norway. Bishop Reid was in great credit with James the fifth, who sent him on several embassies, and after his death he attended his daughter Mary into France, when she went to marry the Dauphin. Bishop Bothwell was often sent to negotiate public affairs in England, and was also one of the senators of the college of justice.—(*p*) This plainly shews how much the people and country were benefited by these establishments, and accounts for their decline, when those who enjoy the profits of those establishments reside no longer amongst them.—(*q*) The son of this bishop, who was one of the senators of the college of justice, was by James the third created Lord Holy-rood-house, 20th Decem. A. D. 1607.—(*r*) To which Patrick had no colour of right; and yet it was not till after his death, that bishop Law obtained quiet possession of the lands belonging to his see.—(*s*) In A. D. 1612, an act of parliament passed, appointing commissioners to settle this exchange, which two years after was completed.—(*t*) Dr. Wallace's description of the islands of Orkney, p. 101.—(*u*) The rental of the bishopric, A. D. 1653, was 6796l. 16s. 4d Scots, or 566l. 8s. 1d. sterling. As to the city of Edinburgh, see Wallace, p. 102.

joys them by a grant, but subject to such deductions, that it is thought they do not amount to above half the sum before mentioned.

BESIDES the crown rents, those of the earldom and bishopric, the earl of Morton has also a temporary grant of the rights of admiralty. The admiralty of the islands of Orkney and Shetland was always distinct and separate from that of Scotland, and held not to be included in the grant to the family of Lennox (*w*), any more than the power of justice general, then in the family of Argyle, which never extended thither. As to the customs, in antient times they were far from being inconsiderable as some have supposed; for while governed by their own earls, and even after they were ceded to the kings of Scotland, there was a great resort of shipping to them from Holland, Zealand, Hamburgh, Bremen, Embden, Rostock, and other places (*x*). The duties imposed for licence to fish on the coasts, were derived from, as they had always been asserted by, the kings of Norway (*y*), and were actually paid to the kings of Scotland while it remained a separate kingdom; which rights were strenuously maintained by James the sixth, and Charles the first (*z*), and are here mentioned to shew the great importance of these isles; to the description of which we will now proceed.

IN Ptolomy's geography, the most northern promontory of the continent of Britain is called Tarvedrum, and Orcas (*a*); whether in reality these names belong to two capes, or to one and by what names they are, or it is now called, would be no easy task to settle. But from Cape Orcas, the islands opposite to it, are with great probability supposed to have been called Orcades, Orcad-eyes, i. e. isles off, or opposite to Cape Orcas, corruptly Orkneys (*b*). Camden thinks they were so stiled from *ar* or *or*, which in the old British signified over against, and *Cat*, that is the point of the *Catti*, or people of Caithness (*c*). Baxter derives it from *or* or *gor*, two British words, which he takes in the same sense with Camden, and *Cad*, which

(*w*) Dirleton's doubts and questions. p. 286—288. Sir James Stewart's doubts and questions, in the law of Scotland resolved and answered, p. 473.—(*x*) The truth of this appears from the history published by Torfæus, by the books of the privy council, and by commissions for determining disputes on this subject.—(*y*) Joh. Pontan. discul. hist. lib. i. cap. 21. Jo. Loccenius. de juris Maritimo, lib. i. cap. 9. Seldeni Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 31.—(*z*) Welwood's dominion of the sea, chap. iii. Selden as before cited. The appendix to the English translation of Mare clausum, printed by authority of the parliament A. D. 1652.—(*a*) In some MSS. of Ptolomy, we read Tarvedusine five Horcas.—(*b*) This seems very satisfactory, if we consider Orcas as a word framed from the name given to the promontory by the natives. In the Islandic, which many think was their language, Ork signifies strength, and makes Orka in the plural, which might give name to the Cape, from the strong and rapid tides between it and the opposite islands.—(*c*) Britan. p. 848. very ingenious and very probable, if there had been no Cape Orcas; for this reason the former is more like to be the truth.

is as much as to say head or promontory (*d*). As to the fanciful derivations from an old Gothic prince whose name was Erk or Ork, or from the old Scandinavian Ear and Kyn, i. e. an offspring of honour; they are in truth hardly worth mentioning (*e*).

THE number of them, if we were solely to depend upon ancient authors, is very uncertain. Pomponius Mela, who calls them Orchades, says, there were thirty of them (*f*). Pliny makes them forty (*g*). Ptolomy reckons them thirty (*h*). Orosius and Isidore say, there were thirteen inhabited, and twenty desart (*i*). Solinus speaks of them as destitute of wood, and overgrown with rushes (*k*). John Fordun says, that all together they make upwards of two hundred, and that more than forty of them, in his time, many years before the cession to Scotland, were inhabited (*l*). Boethius says nothing upon this head at all; and, indeed, nothing he says about them deserves to be regarded. J. Ferrerius, a Piedmontese, who continued his history from materials furnished by Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, fixes the number of inhabited isles, as we do, at twenty eight (*m*). Buchanan is likewise silent as to their number, for want probably of any certain information (*n*).

THE situation of these isles, more especially in regard to commerce, is very commodious; they have the Ocean on the north, the isles of Shetland on the north east, the German ocean on the east, Petland Firth, which divides them from the continent of Scotland, on the south, which streight is about five leagues over, and the great Atlantic ocean on the west (*o*). They lie between fifty-eight degrees forty-three minutes, and fifty-nine degrees thirty-four minutes of north latitude (*p*).

AT

(*d*) Glossar. Antiq. Britan. p. 188, 189. This (if the author be right in the British words) is clearer than Camden's explanation; but is still liable to the same exception, as it cannot be applied to the cape: and the same author (Ptolomy) speaks of Cape Orcas, and of the isles called Orcades; and if Orcas was the denomination given by the natives, then Orcad-eyes was clearly the name of the islands, softened by the Romans into Orcades.

(*e*) Dr. Wallace's description of the islands of Orkney, p. 2.

(*f*) De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 6.—(*g*) Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 16.

(*h*) Geograph. lib. viii. cap. 2.—(*i*) Adversus Paganos, Hist. lib. i. cap. 2.

(*k*) Polyhist. cap. xxv.—(*l*) Scotichron. lib. i. cap. 11. fol. 21.

(*m*) Scotorum Hist. Appendix. fol. 388. b.

(*n*) Rerum Scotie. Hist. lib. 1.

(*o*) The intelligent reader will easily discern from hence, how happily these isles are situated for a commodious correspondence one with another, the establishing magazines, the carrying on fisheries of every kind, the intercepting an enemy's ships during a war, and maintaining in time of peace a most extensive commerce.—(*p*) In Mr. Mackenzie's Map, Longitude is reckoned from Kirkwall, which is his first Meridian. But in other Maps, which are thought to be
very

AT the beginning of the last century, there were reckoned seventy eight islands cultivated and inhabited; and in the neighbourhood of each of these, some smaller islets, producing pasture for cattle, and peats for fuel, stiled in the language of the country *Holms*, and certain small rocks, which the natives call *Skerryes*; in which, though there is but very little grass, yet are they not altogether useless, as affording shelter to vast numbers of fowls, amphibious animals, and having a great variety of fish upon their coasts (*q*). This division still subsists, and from thence results the best method of describing them, which we, as the nature of this design leads us, shall endeavour to pursue as succinctly as possible (*r*).

POMONA, or the main land (*s*), is by far the most considerable. An island, very irregular in its form, shooting northward about sixteen miles in length, and about nine in breadth, and the lower part running out eastward thirteen miles in length, in some places four; but from Kirkwall to the opposite sea, not above two miles in breadth (*t*). There are in it several mountains and lakes, particularly that of Stennis or Stenhouse, which, the size of the country considered, is of large extent; but the greatest part of the island is flat and fruitful (*u*). Kirkwall, the only town in these islands, called in Latin *Cracoviaca*, by the natives *Kirkwa*, stretches near a mile in length, on the east side of a fair and pleasant inlet of the sea, which affords a safe and convenient harbour (*w*).

very exact, Kirkwall is laid down two degrees, 35, west from London, five degrees west from Paris, and two degrees 45 minutes east from the meridian of the Lizard Point in Cornwall.—(*q*) In the old Scandinavian or Islandic; *xy* signified an island; *Holm* a more modern term for an uninhabited islet; and *Skerry* signifies a rock.—(*r*) The authorities on which this description is founded, are (1) an ancient Latin MS. intitled, *Descriptio Insularum Orchadiarum per me, Jo. Ben, ibidem colentem. in A. D. 1529.* (2) The large account of the Orkades in Latin in the sixth volume of Blaeu's Atlas. p. 135. (3) Mr. Robert Monteith of Eglesha's account of them (1633) published by Sir R. Sibbald. (4) Torfæus in his *Rerum Orcadensium Historia.* (5) Dr. Wallace's Description of the Islands of Orkney. (6) Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie's survey of those islands. (7) A description of them, by a worthy friend, a native and inhabitant in these isles, who very kindly composed it for my use in this work.—(*s*) Ben writes it *Pomonia*, and explains it, the middle of the apple, from its situation between the North Isles and the South. Baxter says it is latinized from two British words, *Pou Mon*, i. e. *parva Patria*. In the same manner he accounts for *Main-land*, from *Main*, which in the British language, he says, is slender or little, and *main-land*, *exiguus Terra*. I must own, I am not satisfied with this. *Pomona* was probably an appellation unknown to the natives; and Torfæus, who attempts to explain the names of other islands, gives this up. But in the Islandic language, *Magn* signifies power; and the learned Dr. Hicks says, we borrow this word, in the common phrase, to strive with might and main. The word *Land*, we have from the same language; so that *Magn of Main-land*, is a land of power, because it had as many inhabitants as all the rest.—(*t*) Blaeu makes it 24 miles, and from six to nine broad. Monteith agrees nearly to these dimensions. Wallace says, it is 24 miles long.—(*u*) By the draining this lake, supposing it practicable, some thousand acres of good land might be obtained.—(*w*) Blaeu, Wallace, Mackenzie.

The houses are generally well built of stone, and handsomely slated; some of them are very fair, both on the outside and within, and most of them have little kitchen gardens behind them (*x*). The number may be about three hundred, and the place seems to be encreasing (*y*). The cathedral church of St. Magnus is situated in the center; it is a large and beautiful structure, built upon pillars, in the form of a cross, with a high steeple (*z*). There was formerly two palaces, one called the king's, the other the bishop's (*a*). The bishop's see was one of the best in Scotland; and there was besides, a provost or dean and chapter, all of whom had suitable and very comfortable provisions (*b*). King James the third, by his charter, dated March the thirty-first, one thousand four hundred and eighty-six, recognized their antient foundation, and confirmed their privileges to hold borough courts, elect their own magistrates, granting them weekly markets on Tuesday and Friday, and three fairs in the year (*c*). This charter was ratified by James the fifth, as also by King Charles the second, May the 25th, one thousand six hundred and sixty-one; and all their rights effectually confirmed, by an act, of parliament, passed August the twenty-second, one thousand six hundred and seventy (*d*). This royal borough is governed by a provost, four bailiffs, a treasurer, dean of guild, and a common-council composed of fifteen members (*e*). The Sheriff's and commissary's courts are held here, as also the synod of the clergy; and there is likewise a custom-house, and post house (*f*). At Birsá, in the north west corner of the island, Robert and Patrick, earls of Orkney, built a large and elegant palace, part of which is still standing (*g*). Besides that of Kirkwall, there are three good ports in this island. Deer sound, which is a very safe capacious bay, at the north east end of the island, in the Peninsula of Deerness, i. e. the Cape of Deer, a pleasant and plentiful spot, anciently a forest

(*x*) MS. Account, Wallace, Mackenzie.—(*y*) MS. Account.—(*z*) Ben, Blaeu, Wallace, &c.—(*a*) The king's palace (as it was called) had for its founder Henry Lord Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, A. D. 1379.—(*b*) Bishop Reid re-founded the chapter which consisted of a provost, an archdeacon, a precentor, a chancellor, a treasurer, a subdean, a subchanter, and seven other canons or prebendaries. Wallace, p. 83, 84, 85.—(*c*) One about palm Sunday, one at Lammas, and one at Martinmas, to continue each for three days.—(*d*) The title of this act may be found in the list of statutes passed, but not printed, Sess. ii. Par. ii. Car. ii.—(*e*) Mackenzie.—(*f*) MS. Account.—(*g*) According to the tradition of the country, this place was the royal residence of their antient kings. Over the gateway of the new building was this inscription, Dominus Robertus Stuartus, Filius Jacobi quinti Rex Scotorum, hoc opus instruxit. Over his coat of arms, curiously carved in stone, these words were placed; sic fuit, est, et erit. These are thought to have been prejudicial to his son Patrick when he fell into misfortunes.

abounding with deer, whence its name (*h*); Grimshall, on the south east side (*i*), and the bay of Cairston, now called Stromness, at the south west extremity, which is very large and safe, and has a village of the same name, built on the east side of the harbour, the most noted and the best frequented in the Orkneys (*k*).

THE south isles, that is, the isles lying to the south of the main land are twelve in number, viz. Suina, or Swinna, Suda south Ronaldsha, Waes or Walls, Hoia or Hoy, Graemse, Cava, south Fara, Rysa, Flotta, Burra, and Coupinsha; of several sizes, and very different from each other in their soils and properties (*l*).

AMONGST these, south Ronaldsha is one of the most considerable. It lies the nearest of any to the continent of Caithness; the usual ferry being between Burwick in this island and Duncan's bay on the continent (*m*). It is in length between seven and eight miles, in some places five, in others scarce two miles broad, producing considerable quantities of barley and oats, as well as great plenty of very good grafs (*n*); a vein of lead ore has been discovered near Grimness, in the north east part of the island, and also near Widewall on the west side (*o*). There are some, but not many hills, and a few small lochs, and two very good ports, one on the north side called St. Margaret's Hope, and the other Widewall (*p*). Cod and ling abound upon its coasts. To the south west, lies the little island of SWINNA, remarkable for a fine quarry of slate, but still more remarkable for two whirlpools, called the *wells of Swinna* (*q*). South east from Ronaldsha are the Pentland Skerries (*r*).

THE island of BURRA lies to the north of south Ronaldsha, from which it is divided by a narrow strait called Water Sound (*s*). It is four miles in length from west to east, in some

(*h*) In support of this tradition we are told of deers horns being found buried deep in the earth. Blaeu, Wallace p. 59. Ben says, that by a storm and inundation, the roots of the trees being moistened, and their trunks miserably shaken, they were overturned and perished. He adds, that in A. D. 1506, a gold mine was discovered here. Tradition preserves the memory of a large wood at Burness, which I am informed has been verified by many roots and stumps of large trees seen in the sand on an extraordinary ebb of the sea.—(*i*) Monteith, Blaeu, Wallace.—(*k*) Mackenzie, MS. Account. This port was visited by French and Spanish vessels more than two hundred years ago.—(*l*) Blaeu.—(*m*) Wallace, p. 3.—(*n*) Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace.—(*o*) These particulars as well as the size of the island from Mackenzie's map.—(*p*) Blaeu, Wallace, MS. Account.—(*q*) These make a great figure in the old accounts of these isles, but Mr. Mackenzie has removed all prodigies by explaining them.—(*r*) The same may be said of the Skerries as of the whirlpools.—(*s*) Ben, Monteith, Wallace.

two, in others one in breadth (*t*); and esteemed, for its size, the most fruitful, pleasant, and commodious of these islands, as abounding in corn, grass, and peat, well furnished with stones for building; and in which there is, or at least there was, a large and profitable rabbit warren (*u*). Between Burra and Pomona, lie Lamb Holm, fertile in corn and grass; Glumps Holm, affording good pasture; and Hund overgrown with heath, affording shelter to great quantities of wild fowl (*w*).

WEST from south Ronaldsha, and south from Pomona, lie the isles of Hoia or Hoy, and of Waes or Walls, which at the low ebbs after spring tides, make but one island (*x*). Considered in this light, it is about nine miles in length, five in the broadest part, but in some places not above one (*y*). It is by some supposed to be the DUMNA of Pliny (*z*). Hoy, which is the northern part, is the most mountainous of all these isles, the hills being very high, and the vallies very deep, afford striking and romantic prospects. There are more bushes and birch trees in this than in all the isles; but the soil is heathy and barren, abounding however with game, particularly in hares, which are white in the winter, and which creature is not found in any of the other islands (*a*). There is a bird also called the lyar, taken in great abundance here, and highly esteemed (*b*). On the west side, is a kind of natural fortress called Braburg, anciently held to be impregnable (*c*). Walls, and particularly that part called south Walls, is flat, fertile and pleasant (*d*). There are in these isles three good ports, Orehope, Longhope, and Kirkhope, very safe and commodious (*e*). At a small distance to the east of Hoy, lies the little island of RYSA, flat, fertile, and pleasant (*f*). To the north east of this, at the distance of about two miles and nearly the same distance from Pomona, and north from Fara, lies CAVA (*g*), another small

(*t*) MS. Account, and measured on the map.—(*u*) Blaeu, where there is an ample account of this isle.—(*w*) Ben, Monteith, Wallace.—(*x*) Ben, Bleau, Monteith, &c.—(*y*) MS. Account, compared with Mackenzie's map.—(*z*) Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 16. Wallace, p. 9. Baxter Glossar. Antiq. Britan. p. 108.—(*a*) Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace. Hares grow commonly white in the winter in Norway.—(*b*) This bird was known to Sir Robert Sibbald, who calls it in latin, Lyra, but has not described it.—(*c*) It is remarked in Blaeu's map; but we have no particular description of it.—(*d*) Ben, Bleau, Monteith.—(*e*) The first is a fine bay towards the south east extremity of Hoy; the second, on the south side of the same isle; and the last, in south Walls.—(*f*) Blaeu, Monteith, MS. Account.—(*g*) Ben informs us, that Cava, or Cavey, signifies the cheese island, from the great quantities made there.

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AMONGST these, south Ronaldsha is one of the most considerable. It lies the nearest of any to the continent of Caithness; the usual ferry being between Burwick in this island and Duncan's bay on the continent (*m*). It is in length between seven and eight miles, in some places five, in others scarce two miles broad, producing considerable quantities of barley and oats, as well as great plenty of very good grass (*n*); a vein of lead ore has been discovered near Grimness, in the north east part of the island, and also near Widewall on the west side (*o*). There are some, but not many hills, and a few small lochs, and two very good ports, one on the north side called St. Margaret's Hope, and the other Widewall (*p*). Cod and ling abound upon its coasts. To the south west, lies the little island of SWINNA, remarkable for a fine quarry of slate, but still more remarkable for two whirlpools, called the *wells of Swinna* (*q*). South east from Ronaldsha are the Pentland Skerries (*r*).

THE island of BURRA lies to the north of south Ronaldsha, from which it is divided by a narrow strait called Water Sound (*s*). It is four miles in length from west to east, in some

(*h*) In support of this tradition we are told of deers horns being found buried deep in the earth. Blaeu, Wallace p. 59. Ben says, that by a storm and inundation, the roots of the trees being moistened, and their trunks miserably shaken, they were overturned and perished. He adds, that in A. D. 1506, a gold mine was discovered here. Tradition preserves the memory of a large wood at Burness, which I am informed has been verified by many roots and stumps of large trees seen in the sand on an extraordinary ebb of the sea.—(*i*) Monteith, Blaeu, Wallace.—(*k*) Mackenzie, MS. Account. This port was visited by French and Spanish vessels more than two hundred years ago.—(*l*) Blaeu.—(*m*) Wallace, p. 3.—(*n*) Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace.—(*o*) These particulars as well as the size of the island from Mackenzie's map.—(*p*) Blaeu, Wallace, MS. Account.—(*q*) These make a great figure in the old accounts of these isles, but Mr. Mackenzie has removed all prodigies by explaining them.—(*r*) The same may be said of the Skerries as of the whirlpools.—(*s*) Ben, Monteith, Wallace.

two, in others one in breadth (*t*); and esteemed, for its size, the most fruitful, pleasant, and commodious of these islands, as abounding in corn, grass, and peat, well furnished with stones for building; and in which there is, or at least there was, a large and profitable rabbit warren (*u*). Between Burra and Pomona, lie Lamb Holm, fertile in corn and grass; Glumps Holm, affording good pasture; and Hund overgrown with heath, affording shelter to great quantities of wild fowl (*w*).

WEST from south Ronaldsha, and south from Pomona, lie the isles of Hoia or Hoy, and of Waes or Walls, which at the low ebbs after spring tides, make but one island (*x*). Considered in this light, it is about nine miles in length, five in the broadest part, but in some places not above one (*y*). It is by some supposed to be the DUMNA of Pliny (*z*). Hoy, which is the northern part, is the most mountainous of all these isles, the hills being very high, and the vallies very deep, afford striking and romantic prospects. There are more bushes and birch trees in this than in all the isles; but the soil is heathy and barren, abounding however with game, particularly in hares, which are white in the winter, and which creature is not found in any of the other islands (*a*). There is a bird also called the lyar, taken in great abundance here, and highly esteemed (*b*). On the west side, is a kind of natural fortress called Braburg, anciently held to be impregnable (*c*). Walls, and particularly that part called south Walls, is flat, fertile and pleasant (*d*). There are in these isles three good ports, Orehope, Longhope, and Kirkhope, very safe and commodious (*e*). At a small distance to the east of Hoy, lies the little island of RYSA, flat, fertile, and pleasant (*f*). To the north east of this, at the distance of about two miles and nearly the same distance from Pomona, and north from Fara, lies CAVA (*g*), another small

(*t*) MS. Account, and measured on the map.—(*u*) Blaeu, where there is an ample account of this isle.—(*w*) Ben, Monteith, Wallace.—(*x*) Ben, Bleau, Monteith, &c.—(*y*) MS. Account, compared with Mackenzie's map.—(*z*) Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 16. Wallace, p. 9. Baxter Glossar. Antiq. Britan. p. 108.—(*a*) Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace. Hares grow commonly white in the winter in Norway.—(*b*) This bird was known to Sir Robert Sibbald, who calls it in latin, Lyra, but has not described it.—(*c*) It is remarked in Blaeu's map; but we have no particular description of it.—(*d*) Ben, Bleau, Monteith.—(*e*) The first is a fine bay towards the south east extremity of Hoy; the second, on the south side of the same isle; and the last, in south Walls.—(*f*) Blaeu, Monteith, MS. Account.—(*g*) Ben informs us, that Cava, or Cavey, signifies the cheese island, from the great quantities made there.

island, in a manner overgrown with heath, which affords shelter to abundance of wild fowl, and particularly the Tyft, small, but very high flavoured (*h*). There are a great variety, and great quantities of excellent fish upon its coasts (*i*).

GRAEMSA, lies in the middle between Pomona and Hoy, scarce a mile distant from either (*k*). It is a very pleasant little isle, about five miles in circumference, surrounded towards the sea with sharp and steep rocks; within, the country is flat and fertile in corn and grass. Their peat and heath for fuel, the inhabitants receive from Pomona; for which this isle lies very conveniently, as covering the port of Stromness (*l*).

COUPINSHA, more properly COUPMANSEA, or the merchants isle, lies directly east from Pomona; a small but very high island, which with a rock near it, called the Horse of Coupinsha, serves as a sea mark for all ships bound from the eastward, from whence it received its name (*m*). It is about a mile in length, and scarce half as much broad, and no way remarkable, but from its situation (*n*).

THE *North* isles as they are stiled, that is, those, lying to the North of Pomona, are fifteen, Damsa, Shapinsha, Gerfa, Vera, Eglesha, Raufa, Westra, Papa Westra, North Fara, Eda, Alhallow or Inhallo, Stronsa, Papa Stronsa, Sanda, and North Ronaldsha (*o*).

DAMSA, is a little isle lying at the foot of Wytfell, in a bay of Pomona, about a mile or somewhat less in circumference, plain, pleasant, and for its size fruitful (*p*). There stood upon it formerly a nunnery; and there is a great holm by it called Grimsbutter, which is very near as large as this island; which, however, was formerly elegantly laid out in meadows and gardens (*q*).

THE island of SIAPINSA, vulgarly Shapinsha, lies three miles north east from the town of Kirkwall, is full four miles long and near as many broad (*r*); it is fruitful in barley and

(*h*) Blaeu, Sibbaldi Prodrum. Nat. Hist. Scotiæ, p. ii. lib. iii. cap. 7.—(*i*) If these isles were more populous, or their present inhabitants applied to fishing, this would be a thing of consequence.—(*k*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith.—(*l*) MS. Account.—(*m*) The high land made it very conspicuous to ships coming from the eastward, as the hill of Hoy was a sea mark to those coming from the west.—(*n*) By which it seems to be wonderfully well disposed for magazines of sea stores, salts, cask, news, &c. and for refreshments and provisions.—(*o*) Blaeu, Wallace, MS. Account.—(*p*) Ben, Blaeu, Wallace.—(*q*) Monteith. It is asserted that no venomous, noxious, or loathsome animal can live in this isle.—(*r*) MS. Account compared with Mackenzie's map. Ben asserts, Shapinsha signifies ship island, which is not improbable, as in their old language, Skip signifies a ship, and Ey an island.

grafs, has a very safe harbour called Elwick. The whole island made formerly part of the estate of the bishop of Orkney; fine lead ore has been found in several places on the south coast, as also in a large holm called Helgar, which lies near it, covers the port of Elwick, and affords excellent pasture (*s*).

To the north east lies STRONSA, separated from the last mentioned island by a firth, which is about five miles broad (*t*); it is seven miles in length and four in breadth, very fertile, and abounding with all the necessaries of life (*u*). On the south west there runs out a peninsula called Rousholm Head, in which there is plenty of peat (*w*). This peninsula forms the west side of a harbour called Rousholm Bay; besides which, there are three others, one on the west side covered by Ling Holm, and called Lingá Sound; Strynie on the north east, defended by the little island of Papa Stronsa; and a little to the south of this, Mills Bay (*x*). In former times this island was much frequented by shipping, was very populous, and the inhabitants had a considerable trade with all the northern nations (*y*), and a valuable fishery about the coasts of a great rock called Ouskerry, lying six miles to the south (*z*). The little island of PAPA STRONSA, about a mile and a half in circumference, lies near it, and is very fertile in corn and grafs, but without peat (*a*).

Two miles north from Stronsa lies SANDA, esteemed to be the largest of all these isles next to Pomona (*b*). It is of a very rude irregular figure, intersected on every side by deep inlets of the sea; it is twelve miles long, in some paces only one, in others two, and in none above three miles

(*s*) This island having some thousand acres of improveable land, much lead ore, and a good port, might certainly be rendered valuable.—(*t*) Stronsa, i. e. the isle with many strands, is very properly so called, being composed of three peninsula's with large bays between them. These were formerly as many parishes; St Peter's to the north; that of our Lady on the south east; and that of St. Nicholas, which is much the largest, towards the south west.—

(*u*) Ben, Blaeu, MS. Account.—(*w*) This quarter furnishes fuel to the other two, and to some of the adjacent islands.—(*x*) Wallace, p. 12.—(*y*) More especially, when the Dutch herring fishery was in its most flourishing state. This isle is about the size of Schelling on the coast of Holland, in which Sir Robert Holmes, A. D. 1666, burned a town consisting of one thousand houses, with merchandise and ships to the amount of a million sterling. Such is the value to which the Dutch raise their islands!—(*z*) When the people of Fife were engaged in the fishery, they came annually hither.—(*a*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace, MS. Account.—(*b*) Blaeu, where it is said to be twelve miles long, and eight broad.

broad (*c*). There are several hills, many lochs, and some of them large. It is fruitful in corn and grafs; but has no peat or turf, which is a heavy misfortune in a country where they have nothing else to burn (*d*). It is also defective as to ports, for though there are two, yet they are both small and shallow (*e*).

NORTH and by east from Stronsa, lies North RONALD SHA, the most remote of these islands, as well towards the north as towards the east (*f*). It is three miles in length, and one in breadth. The country is mostly flat, sufficiently fruitful in barley and in grafs, but without any peat (*g*). There was formerly a very neat church dedicated to St. Olaus. The sea on its coasts is very tempestuous; and there is nothing that can, properly speaking, be called a port (*h*).

WE must now turn to the west, and begin with EDA, ETHIE or HEATH, which lies north from Shapinsha, north west from Stronsa, and west from Sanda (*i*). This isle is near eight miles long, and two broad; hilly, covered with heath, and abounding with peat, with which it supplies several of the other islands. It is not in other respects very fertile (*k*). On the north east side there is a large grassy holm called the Calf of Eda, between which and the isle there is a very safe road (*l*). In the last century this was the property of Stuart Earl of Carrick (*m*), who built a good house on the island; and having erected proper works on the Calf of Eda, made

(*c*) This, like Stronsa, had anciently three parishes, each a peninsula, with some smaller joining to them.—(*d*) It is the more distressing, because in the winter season, when this commodity is most necessary, the sea is very tempestuous, and the passage to the other isles very difficult, as well as very dangerous. It were therefore to be wished, that the inhabitants could be instructed in some method of procuring fuel in their own isles, or were annually supplied with a quantity of coals, which is much more practicable.—(*e*) Monteith, Wallace, MS. Account.—(*f*) The promontory of Dennis in this isle, lies in 59°. 24'. N. L. and 19' East Longitude from Kirkwall. It was on the coasts of this isle that a rich Swedish East-India ship was lost in A. D. 1740. Accidents of this sort were formerly too frequent; but since the publication of Mr. Mackenzie's accurate charts, they are become much less common.—(*g*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith, &c.—(*h*) About half a mile from this isle, to the north, lies a dangerous rock called Selkiskerry, where abundance of seals are annually taken.—(*i*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace.—(*k*) MS. account compared with Mackenzie's map.—(*l*) This is called Calf Sound; something more than a mile long, and half a mile broad.—(*m*) Carrick, is a village in the north part of this isle, erected into a burgh of barony by Charles I. who created the Lord Kinclaven, second son to Robert, and brother to Patrick Earl of Orkney, Earl of Carrick, about 1633; who died without issue, by which the honour became extinct, and his salt works were neglected.

there

there very fine salt (*n*). This in the opinion of some is the OCETIS of Ptolomy (*o*).

THREE miles to the westward of Éda, lies WESTRA, a very beautiful, and for these countries no inconsiderable isle, as being nine miles long, and five broad (*p*). The country very happily diversified with hills and plains, and abounding with barley, grass, cattle, sheep, rabbits, wild and sea fowl, and abundance of fish upon its coasts (*q*). On the north west are the remains of the castle of Nautland, which was begun but not finished by Hepburn Duke of Orkney (*r*). The most western point of this isle is Cape Noup, and not far from it lies the little harbour of Pierowal, where vessels that draw under ten feet water may lie very securely (*s*). At two miles distance to the eastward lies PAPA WESTRA, a very pleasant and not infertile island, three miles long, and one broad, formerly famous from St. Friedwald's chapel and loch, of which many fabulous stories are still current (*t*). Mould Head is the north west point of Papa Westra, and lies in fifty nine degrees twenty-one minutes and thirty seconds of North latitude (*u*). Between the two isles there is a very safe and commodious road for fishing vessels (*w*).

AT a league west from Eda, and four north east from Pomona, we find the island of EGLISA or EGILSHA, three miles long, and about one broad, a fair and fruitful country for its size, distinguished by a neat little church dedicated to, and in which it is said lies the body of, St. Magnus, the patron of these isles (*x*). Half a league south west from Egilsha, and about the same distance north east from Pomona, lies WIRE, in Latin VERA, two miles in length, and one in breadth; very fertile in barley and grass, but without peat, with which it is supplied from the other islands (*y*). Two miles south from Wire, about the same distance north west from Shapinsha, and half a league north east from Pomona, lies the small island of GIARSA, two miles long, and one

(*n*) Here is a pregnant instance of the improvements that might be made in these isles, more especially in regard to the fishery.—(*o*) Camdeni Britan. p. 848. Wallace, p. 12.—(*p*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith.—(*q*) MS. account, in which it is said, that for richness of soil, and mildness of climate, this is not inferior to any of the Orkneys.—(*r*) This had been long before a place of great strength.—(*s*) MS. account compared with Mackenzie's map.—(*t*) Wallace, p. 13.—(*u*) MS. account compared with Mackenzie's map.—(*w*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith.—(*x*) Some write this Eglisa, and interpret it Ecclesiæ Insula, i. e. Kirk Island, from the veneration paid to the church of St. Magnus.—(*y*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace.

broad, with a sugar loaf hill in the middle (*z*). Part of this isle running out in a peninsula on the east side, makes what is called the Hen of Giarfa, between which and the body of the island there is a commodious little creek.

A VERY narrow sound separates Pomona from ROUSA, which lies north from it, and is a large square island, between four and five miles in length from north to south, and four from west to east (*a*). It is mountainous on the west, and on the south side as well as on the middle, but flat and fertile in grass on the coasts (*b*). There is a great deal of heath, and abundance of peat on this island, with which many of the neighbouring isles are supplied. It is well stored with cattle, sheep, rabbits, fowl, and fish, and is very healthy and pleasant (*c*). It is divided on the east by a strait about a mile broad, called Howa Sound, from Egilsha, which affords a passage to the ships bound to and from Iceland, and by another strait called Wire Sound, from that little island (*d*). Between Rousa, and the north west point of Pomona, lies the little isle of ALHALLOW or INHALLOW, about a mile in circumference; and for its size neither infertile or unpleasant (*e*).

THE bare description of these islands, short and simple as it is, will be abundantly sufficient to shew that the Orkneys are very far from being mean or inconsiderable even in point of territory or extent (*f*); since taken together they are equal to the county of Huntingdon in South Britain (*g*); of much the same size with the principality of Neufchatel in Switzerland (*h*); and not at all inferior in this respect to Zealand, which is the third of the United Provinces (*i*). In point of situation, these islands have also many, and those very singular advantages. They are in the very centre of trade, or at

(*z*) MS. account compared with the map.—(*a*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith.—(*b*) Some of these mountains produce tolerable grass, and though a great part of the isle is uncultivated, the soil is not naturally barren.—(*c*) There is near the middle of Rousa, a lake, from which runs a stream that may deserve the name of a river.—(*d*) Monteith, MS. account compared with Mackenzie's map.—(*e*) Ben, Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace, MS. account.—(*f*) The Texell and other small islands in the province of North Holland, not in size more than one third of the Orkneys, are full of towns, people, and wealth, though they pay more in annual taxes to the states than the whole rental of our isles amount to. This they are enabled to do, by the great resort of shipping, the constant industry of the inhabitants, and the singular attention of government to promote their industry, and to see it properly rewarded.—(*g*) This small inland county pays more to the land tax than the whole annual produce of the Orkneys.—(*h*) L'Etat de la Suisse, p. 241. This country is more populous, and the people live more at their ease, though an inland spot, and the soil and climate very indifferent.—(*i*) There are no natural impediments to prevent our British from becoming in every respect as considerable as those islands which form this Dutch province.

least might be made to all the northern kingdoms of Europe (*k*); lie open at all seasons for the navigation to and from America (*l*); and are seated in the middle between the Shetland and the Western Islands; to which we may add, that vessels from them may run down with equal facility either on the east or on the west side of Great Britain (*m*).

BUT this subject may be, and surely on all the principles of humanity, justice, and sound policy it deserves to be, placed in a stronger and more conspicuous point of light (*n*). For though hitherto little considered, these remote islands are most conveniently and happily disposed, from their different sizes and circumstances (*o*), for the introduction of many valuable commodities from foreign countries to increase the number of their materials; and the same method might be used for the improvement of their own breed of horses, swine, sheep, goats, and black cattle (*p*). Thus supplied with the means of an easy and plentiful subsistence, together with an additional stock of commodities, proper to exercise their skill, their labour, and their application (*q*); and the present inhabitants being instructed by a few families sent and settled amongst them for that purpose (*r*); these isles, in the space of a few years, would be made, what it is the undoubted interest of Britain they should be made (*s*), the seats of a variety of manufactures (*t*); by the help of which, the people who dwell there would quickly be enabled to carry on a beneficial and extensive foreign trade (*u*);

(*k*) If therefore manufactures were introduced and established in these isles they would find markets for them at no great distance.—(*l*) If at the same time we consider the facility of correspondence, we recollect the abundance of raw commodities in one country, the number of inhabitants, of course the cheapness of labour in the other, and that the people of both are subjects of the same prince; it will not be difficult to discover, that by very easy methods, and with very little assistance, many and mighty advantages might be procured to Great Britain.—(*m*) Ships from the port of Kirkwall, arrive commonly in fourteen or fifteen, and with a fair wind sometimes in less than five days in the river of Thames.—(*n*) Numbers in these isles labour hard, and fare still more hardly; these should certainly be relieved: they are loyal subjects to the British government, and have thereby a right to its attention. Any assistance given to them, would in its consequences contribute highly and extensively to the general welfare.—(*o*) The multitude which in their present circumstances they actually maintain, is an invincible proof of their capacity for improvement.—(*p*) In the former section these points have been fully insisted upon.—(*q*) Particular plans should be first carefully adapted to, and, that once done, vigorously and steadily pursued in every island.—(*r*) This might be with facility effected by methods that have been already mentioned.—(*s*) An increase of property procured by industry, though in the remotest province, will be felt by an increase of demands, through the whole community.—(*t*) Which, from a great concurrence of favourable circumstances, would beat out those of our rivals in all the northern markets.—(*u*) Without which no island ever became, and with which there is no isle but may become considerable.

more especially if to, or rather previous to, all these considerations, we add, that which is indeed the most obvious improvement, their entering into, and steadily pursuing what was intended them by Nature, almost every kind of fishery (*w*).

THE possibility of embracing most, if not all these means, of emerging from want and insignificance, we trust has been in a great measure demonstrated in the foregoing section (*x*); and if a few vigorous steps were once taken in order to give a beginning to any of these, it would soon change the face of affairs in the Orkneys. We should then gradually see, what surely was the design of Providence, every island, holm, and rock, applied to some useful purpose; and the people being enabled and encouraged to be industrious, would, seizing with alacrity what they have so long and ardently sighed for, become active in agriculture, fishing, manual arts, navigation, and commerce, and of course from their vigorous exertion of their own industry, easy and happy (*y*). As the natural and infallible consequence of such a change, instead of their being as they are of little use even to themselves, and scarce at all known to the inhabitants of the southern parts of Britain; it would, in no very long space, bring their numerous islands to be esteemed a very valuable and profitable province of the British empire (*z*); as will more fully appear from the subsequent part of this section.

WE will therefore conclude this account of the Orkneys, and their inhabitants, with some particulars relating to their natural, commercial, and civil history, which may be depended upon, and which are all that is necessary to compleat the design of shewing, that as we have more than once asserted, they are really capable of being rendered much more considerable than they are in their present situation, and of far greater

(*w*) If any doubt should arise as to the finding markets for all this fish, let it be observed that many hundred vessels come annually from other countries to fish on these coasts, and then sail with their cargoes, which might undoubtedly be furnished much cheaper by these islanders, who have the fish, and might have salt at home; and are besides nearer to many of these already found markets.—(*x*) In subjects so closely connected as those are that compose this and the foregoing section, though almost unavoidable, yet the greatest care has been taken to avoid repetitions.—(*y*) For all which means of advancing their own interests, they have both talents and inclinations, if some few obstacles were removed.—(*z*) These points were long ago insisted upon by Sir William Monson, and after him by Mr. Smith. Both of these gentlemen excellent judges, and who both of them spoke from what they had themselves observed, having both visited these isles, and agreeing exactly in their notions as to their utility and importance.

utility

utility to the general interests of these kingdoms, than any even of our best informed statesmen, seem to have hitherto thought them (a).

THE climate, notwithstanding their northern situation, is far from being either severe or unpleasant. The longest day is about eighteen hours, the sun then rising seven minutes before three, and setting as many minutes after nine (b). It has been said, that from the Hill of Hoy, the body of the sun may about Midsummer be seen at midnight; which is, as the lights derived from astronomy convince us, no better than a fable (c). But it is true, that in clear weather for near two months in summer, the twilight is strong enough to read by through the whole night (d). But notwithstanding this length of the day, the heat from the obliqueness of the sun's rays, and from several other causes, is not, in summer, so great as upon the continent; and from the vapours of the surrounding sea, the cold in winter is in the like manner very sensibly diminished (e). The winds are in general brisk rather than boisterous, and they are not subject frequently either to storms or calms (f). When it blows from any of the points to the west, it brings foul weather, and fair and dry, when it blows from the east. From the month of August to that of March, the winds are commonly west; from March to May, they blow from the north east to the north; and from May to August, the south and south east winds prevail (g). The spring is tolerably forward, the summer moderately hot, the autumn hazy, and the winter mild, attended with much more rain than snow, which seldom falls long or rises high, neither are frosts more frequent, and never very intense (h). Thunder is more common in winter than in summer. The northern lights,

(a) It must be allowed that the Lords of the Admiralty shewed a just concern for the interests of the merchants, by first directing Mr. Mackenzie's survey, and afterwards permitting him to make his charts public; and it is with a disinterested view to recommend these isles and their inhabitants to the attention and protection of a British administration, that they have been so largely insisted on here.—(b) Wallace, p. 3. Mackenzie, MS. account.—(c) It is asserted by the author of the account published by Blaeu, p. 139, who adds, that people went thither every year to see this phenomenon, which he describes as an obscure cloud veiling the body of the sun, from half an hour after eleven to half an hour after one, when he says it rises. It is necessary to remark this falsehood, because it has been often transcribed.—(d) Wallace, Mackenzie, MS. account.—(e) These known effects of an insular situation, are as conspicuous in the Feroe Isles, lying three degrees more to the north; where, by the way, the natives affirm the sun on the longest day rises seven minutes after two, and sets fifty-three minutes after nine.—(f) MS. account.—(g) It is to be understood that this is commonly, not constantly, the course of the weather, which is here, as well as elsewhere, very variable.—(h) Mr. Mackenzie has given a very clear and curious account of these lights, to which the reader is referred.

or Aurora Borealis, are frequent, and sometimes the whole sky is as much illuminated by them as at other times by the moon (*i*). The sea is often violently agitated so as to rise thirty or forty yards against the rocks, even when the wind is not high. Mists and fogs are not common; but the weather is often dark and hazy, from the vapours rising out of the surrounding seas, which rather affects those on shipboard, than the inhabitants (*k*).

WE have already taken notice, that not above four of these islands can be called mountainous, though there is at least one hill or considerable eminence in each of them (*l*). On these hills there is much heath, and some grass, and at the bottom of them very rich pasture (*m*). The soil is various, not only in different islands, but also in almost every one of them. In some places black earth, in others clay, in some loam, in some mossy, in others stony; but the most general is sand (*n*). The sand, even where it is pure, when enriched with sea ware proves very fertile, as do most of the other soils when properly manured, and cultivated with care (*o*). The earth is almost in every place but thin, and lies either upon a solid rock, or in some places, on what is interposed between the soil and rock, a stiff clay (*p*). They use light ploughs, drawn by two or by four horses, or by two horses and two cows. They are no strangers to inclosures; but it is allowed, that much of their common land, and many of their moors, which in their present state are of little value, might be taken in, and rendered good meadow ground (*q*). It is also thought that foreign grasses would succeed very well here; and in consequence of this, their cattle would be better fed, and grow to a larger size (*r*). The more skilful and observing farmers acknowledge, Providence has wisely established a perfect harmony between their soil and climate; so that if it was hotter

(*i*) Wallace, Mackenzie, MS account.—(*k*) The purity of the air is one of the great blessings bestowed by Providence on these islands, where the people in general are healthy, the women remarkable for their fecundity and many of both sexes live long, and without feeling the infirmities of old age. See some extraordinary instances in Wallace, p. 64, 65.—(*l*) These are called Wart or Ward Hills, from the beacons erected on them, to which they set fire on the approach of an enemy's squadron.—(*m*) Wallace, Mackenzie, MS. account.—(*n*) Blaeu, Monteith, Wallace.—(*o*) The same husbandry with like success is practised in the Feroe islands. But Sir George Mackenzie, Philosophical Transactions, No. 117, p. 396, intimates, that this manure in a course of years depreciates the grain, and thickens the husks both of oats and barley. It may deserve inquiry, whether these effects may not proceed from the ploughing and sowing the same land continually without allowing it any rest?—(*p*) Ben, Blaeu, Wallace, p. 8.—(*q*) If these were divided and improved, it would enable the inhabitants to raise more cattle, which is the substance these people most affect.—(*r*) There seems to be no doubt, that with dry feeding their beef might be rendered as firm and fit for salt, as it is allowed to be fine grained and well tasted.

or drier, or colder or more wet, every thing would succeed worse (*s*). The want of peats in some places, and their distance in others, occasions a great loss of time and labour in cutting and fetching them, and this is augmented by the season of cutting them, which being at the approach of harvest, is therefore an evil and inconvenience which they very sensibly feel (*t*).

LIMESTONE has been found in several of these islands, of which much lime may be made, that would prove an excellent manure (*u*). Grey stone they have in all the islands in abundance, with good quarries of free stone and slate. Marble and alabaster have been also found in the neighbourhood of Birsá, in Pomona, or the main land, but are not wrought. Rich lead ore has been certainly found in many places, and as some say, tin and copper; but hitherto none of their mines have been wrought (*w*). We have spoke sufficiently of peats, which are the fuel of the country; but, as has been already hinted, it would certainly be a great advantage to the people, if they could be so supplied with coals as to make less use of them (*x*). Their inclosed fields produce much grass; but with a little care they might have much more, and good hay, of which they make but very little (*y*). Beans and peas succeed perfectly well, more especially the white sort of the latter (*z*). Cabbages, turnips, parsnips, carrots, skirrets, and indeed all vegetables, come to great perfection; and their artichokes, in point of size and sweetness, equal, if not exceed, any to be found in Britain (*a*). They have a variety of medicinal and other herbs, of some of which considerable use might be made (*b*). As to corn, they have only two sorts, oats and bere, and these but of an inferior quality; which, however, might be mended by proper culture, as the land is very fertile, producing from six

(*s*) MS. Account.—(*t*) It would therefore be in many respects a signal benefit to the inhabitants, if (as a quantity of wool is annually allowed to the people of Guernsey, &c.) they were permitted to import a reasonable supply of coals, free from duty, restraining them (to prevent frauds) to certain ports.—(*u*) They have also plenty of marble, and rich coral sand, which in Cornwall is found to fertilize the poorest grounds wonderfully.—(*w*) Wallace, p. 43, where he ascribes this to their poverty; to which we may likewise add their want of fuel.—(*x*) We have already seen at what period turf was introduced; and before that time probably the people used wood.—(*y*) There is no improvement more likely to succeed with care than this, and none would be of greater importance to this country.—(*z*) It is a general rule, that whatever requires a long summer to ripen, or is spoiled by wind and rain in the autumn, is unfit for this climate.—(*a*) Wallace, p. 35, and confirmed by all who have visited these islands.—(*b*) That kind of grass, from which in Poland they collect a kind of yellow seed, not inferior to millet, is common here; where probably that grain, which is preferable to any they have, would likewise thrive. Tormentil, the roots of which are so useful in tanning, is no less common; the same may with truth be said of madder, of such consequence in dyeing.

or Aurora Borealis, are frequent, and sometimes the whole sky is as much illuminated by them as at other times by the moon (*i*). The sea is often violently agitated so as to rise thirty or forty yards against the rocks, even when the wind is not high. Mists and fogs are not common; but the weather is often dark and hazy, from the vapours rising out of the surrounding seas, which rather affects those on shipboard, than the inhabitants (*k*).

WE have already taken notice, that not above four of these islands can be called mountainous, though there is at least one hill or considerable eminence in each of them (*l*). On these hills there is much heath, and some grass, and at the bottom of them very rich pasture (*m*). The soil is various, not only in different islands, but also in almost every one of them. In some places black earth, in others clay, in some loam, in some mossy, in others stony; but the most general is sand (*n*). The sand, even where it is pure, when enriched with sea ware proves very fertile, as do most of the other soils when properly manured, and cultivated with care (*o*). The earth is almost in every place but thin, and lies either upon a solid rock, or in some places, on what is interposed between the soil and rock, a stiff clay (*p*). They use light ploughs, drawn by two or by four horses, or by two horses and two cows. They are no strangers to inclosures; but it is allowed, that much of their common land, and many of their moors, which in their present state are of little value, might be taken in, and rendered good meadow ground (*q*). It is also thought that foreign grasses would succeed very well here; and in consequence of this, their cattle would be better fed, and grow to a larger size (*r*). The more skilful and observing farmers acknowledge, Providence has wisely established a perfect harmony between their soil and climate; so that if it was hotter

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to eight and sometimes ten quarters of the latter upon an acre (*c*). They have tolerable apples, and their pears are sometimes very fine, as well as very large; and if they have no other fruit, the fault does not so much lie in either the soil or the climate, as in their negligence and want of attention (*d*). Trees have certainly grown here, for their roots are frequently dug up; and no doubt, in the larger islands, they might with skill and industry be made to grow again (*e*).

THEY have horses, which though small are very strong, and remarkably full of spirit; their oxen and cows afford excellent beef for present consumption, and might be much improved, if they were better fed. They have abundance of sheep; but their mutton in general is very indifferent, because the creatures are suffered to feed on sea ware; but where they are kept in inclosures their flesh is very fine. Swine they have in plenty, and their pork is very good; they have also abundance of rabbits (*f*). They have no deers, hares, or foxes; and the inhabitants value their country on its breeding no venomous creatures. Tame, wild, and water fowl, in vast variety and abundance, more especially pigeons, moor fowl, plover of all sorts, land rails, snipes, curlews, ducks, geese, swans, and herons. There are also eagles and very fine hawks (*g*).

IN every island there is plenty of fresh water, in springs, brooks, and in some isles lochs. The last are generally speaking but small, abounding however with trouts of several kinds, and eels. No country affords more or better of every kind of shell fish, particularly oysters as large as any in Europe, and lobsters not inferior to those of Norway (*h*). Cod, ling, coal fish, haddock, skate, turbot, mackerell, &c. are in the greatest plenty upon their coasts. Numbers of otters and seals are annually killed amongst the rocks, and porpoises and whales are sometimes cast upon the shore (*i*). The people through poverty, and the want of proper boats, cannot apply themselves to the fishery, farther than is requisite for their home consump-

(*c*) Wallace, Mackenzie, MS. Account.—(*d*) This seems sufficiently to warrant our hopes, that an improved husbandry might be attended with the happiest effects.—(*e*) When industry shall have introduced plenty, and thereby raised the spirits of the people, this will no doubt be attempted.—(*f*) Bleau, Wallace, Mackenzie.—(*g*) Wallace, p. 47. The King's Falconer has a fee of twenty pounds annually for taking the hawks, and a hen or dog (except some privileged places) out of every house in the country.—(*h*) The dealers in lobsters at Harwich proposed some years since a contract, which would have been beneficial to the people of Orkney, if some accidents that intervened had not hindered its being carried into execution. It were to be wished they would attempt sending lobsters to London.

(*i*) Ben, Bleau, Wallace, &c.

tion, of which, in point of provisions, a third if not an half is taken out of the sea; but formerly, when their circumstances were better, they salted, dried, and exported a great deal (*k*).

THE people of Orkney are in general stout, robust, and active, many of them remarkably tall, and well-proportioned, with fair and florid complexions, for which they were anciently famous (*l*). The women are handsome, modest, and excellent housewives. Buchanan, and other writers of his age, charged them with being hard drinkers, but at the same time allow that they did not carry this excess so far as drunkenness (*m*). At present they are in general esteemed to be a very civil, courteous, sedate, well-disposed people, chearful without levity, religious without enthusiasm, and without any remarkable blemish, if we except too great wariness, that borders on suspicion (*n*). The gentlemen have good houses upon their estates, owing to an old custom, when every man who acquired a property thought it became him to build; and after the reformation, their bishops were remarkable for this practice (*o*). The farmers live scattered over the islands, and for the most part are rather better lodged than those are on the continent; but their diet is coarse and scanty, and the common people in general work very hard for a bare subsistence, and that too, in its kind, very indifferent. They build their own dwellings, make their own cloaths, and have a natural aptness to manufactures, and would undoubtedly succeed in all such as are proper for them, if they had the means of introducing them at home, and of carrying them abroad to market. Their situation, their manner of life, and their subsisting so much as they are obliged to do upon fish, makes them by continual practice, very dextrous and intrepid seamen, which might become a great national advantage, if they had any means of maintaining themselves comfortably in their own, instead of being compelled, by the sharp spur of necessity, to seek a living in other countries (*p*).

(*k*) This shews that with a little assistance they might with success resume their fisheries; and on this the Earl of Morton insisted in his petition. (*l*) Polyd. Virgilii Anglicæ Hist. lib. i. They are of stature tall, almost always found in body and mind, living generally to a great age, though they feed chiefly upon fish. Boethius says, that in his time they lived long, enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health, so that the use of physic was little if at all known amongst them. He adds, in their bodies they are robust, and have very fair countenances.—(*m*) H. Boeth. Scotorum Regni Descript. fol. 9. b. Buchan. Rerum Scoticar. Hist. lib. i.—(*n*) Wallace, Mackenzie, MS. Account.—(*o*) Monteith, Blaeu, maps of these Islands.—(*p*) If for the sake of profit they go into foreign countries, we lose the people and their posterity; and if they remove to any part of Britain, by their betaking themselves to other methods of life, we lose the seamen: Whereas, if Orkney was only as populous as it once was, and it might be more so, the public might at any time draw from thence ten thousand expert and hardy sailors.

THEIR

THEIR old constitution was in many, indeed in most respects, a very good one. They paid but a small tribute to the kings of Norway. Their earl had his demesnes, and other revenues, which his residence in Pomona, and their trade with the northern nations, rendered very light and easy (*q*). The rent of church lands and tythes, which supported the clergy, though raised upon the people, were also spent amongst them (*r*); and as to the municipal laws and courts of justice, they were in the hands of a chief magistrate, and subordinate officers elected by the people. The good effects of this form of rule were very visible in the improvement of the country, the plentiful living of the people, and their numbers in every island, of all which the monuments that remain put these facts out of doubt (*s*). At present they have a sheriff, who distributes justice, and several gentlemen in the commission of the peace. The county has a representative in parliament, and Kirkwall likewise sends a member in conjunction with four other boroughs (*t*). In reference to ecclesiastical affairs, they have a provincial synod, three presbyteries, twenty-eight parishes, and these are supplied by eighteen ministers. It has been computed that there are three thousand eight hundred and twenty families, and twenty-three thousand inhabitants in these isles (*u*). Their dress is after the Scots mode, and they likewise speak the Scots language, their old language, called *Norns*, being now nearly, if not entirely, worn out.

As to the produce of these isles, it arises in the first place from their agriculture and grazing. The former produces grain, malt, and meal, a very large proportion of which goes for the payment of the crown rent, and is annually exported; which, when they have had bad harvests, brings great distress,

(*q*) So long as they retained their old government, and what they paid for its support circulated among them, they thrive, and were content. But as the foregoing history shews, from the time that the public revenue was exacted from them, and carried out of the country, they gradually declined in their circumstances, grew poor and uneasy, dejected and unhappy.—(*r*) The churchmen being natives, and living in the country, whatever they received, by their buildings and hospitality, entered again into circulation, and from hence the commons felt no great inconvenience from what they paid, and considered those edifices (as in truth they were) as acquisitions to and ornaments of their country.—(*s*) The castles now demolished, the churches and chapels now disused, and the account given in Blaeu, that in the last century, on a general muster, there appeared (without any prejudice to husbandry, grazing, or fisheries) ten thousand men able to bear arms, and even then these Isles were far from being in the best condition, must be looked upon as incontestible evidences in support of what is asserted in the text.—(*t*) These are the boroughs of Taine, Dingwall, Dornock, and Wick.—(*u*) The number here stated from Mr. Mackenzie's Survey, is of such only as are entered on the ministers rolls, as having been catechized; but upon a strict inquiry into several parishes, the proportion has been found to stand thus; in a parish consisting of 853, there were 613 on that list, and 240 under the age at which they are usually catechized, that is between nine and ten years old, and therefore the true number of souls in these Isles is 32,039.

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and is at all times a hardship upon the people (*w*). They likewise export beef and butter, though the latter is really no better than grease, to the amount of about eight hundred barrels, or more properly half barrels, of one hundred weight each, per annum, and about one half of this, we are told, also goes in payment of rent (*x*). It is not to be understood from hence that in Orkney there is any natural defect in this commodity, for few countries afford better butter than in good families is made here for their own consumption; but the great quantity required and the low price allowed are the causes that depreciate the quality of the rest (*y*). They likewise export a good deal of linen yarn and some cloth (*z*), worsted, coarse woollen goods, and very fine stockings, which, with calves, rabbits, otters, and seal skins, and some feathers, make up the rest of their commodities (*a*). Before the union, though they had undoubtedly less trade, they had more money, or at least an appearance of more money, in consequence of their drawing a balance in cash, which circulated in their different coins through these isles, from all the northern nations with whom they traded (*b*). Now though they have still some trade with Hamburg and Norway, and also with Spain and Portugal (*c*); yet their principal correspondence is with Leith and Newcastle, in consequence of their having discovered a new resource in kelp (*d*), of which they export annually upwards of a thousand tons. It is this valuable article enables them to procure such conveniencies as they most affect, and a small balance in cash besides, which with the expences of foreign seamen at Kirkwall and Stromness furnishes what little money they have (*e*), and is an incontestible proof of what an increased and well directed industry, pro-

(*w*) The people in Orkney, through want of money, which arises from the want of trade, pay their rents in barley, malt, and oatmeal.—(*x*) MS. Account.—(*y*) This Orkney grease, as it is commonly called, is a commodity, which at its present price is in great demand, and therefore we need not wonder they do not endeavour to make it better.—(*z*) This linen yarn and cloth are sent to Leith, Newcastle, and other ports in the north of England with their kelp.—(*a*) As to the quantities of these, no distinct accounts have been obtained; but in all these articles great improvements might be made.—(*b*) Their great commerce in those days was with Norway in corn and meal; to the Hanse towns, viz. Bremen, Hamburg, and Dantzick, to which they carried fish, fish-oil, woollen stuffs and butter. The greatest part of these commodities they sold for ready money, and this being carried home, became, as is said in the text, the current coin in the Orkneys.—(*c*) To Norway they send grain and meal, and bring tar and timber from thence.—(*d*) Before the union they had no intercourse with England, from whence they now furnish themselves with numerous articles for home consumption, in return for their kelp, which is necessary to the beneficial manufactures of aliom, soap, and glass. It is evident therefore that this commerce is alike advantageous to both countries, and of course it is the interest of both to encourage and extend it.—(*e*) To these we add the wages of three or four hundred seamen, employed by the society in carrying on the white herring fishery.



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ductive of an extensive trade, would do, if these could be procured, and that without much difficulty. And that these, by a reasonable degree of public attention, and with very small assistance, may be obtained, shall to every capable and candid reader be rendered very apparent.

It is from the foregoing account of these isles and their produce rendered manifest, that there are sufficient materials in them to work upon; and in truth this was observed and insisted upon, as has been before hinted, above a century ago (*f*). But because it was neglected then, and has been so ever since, it does not follow that it ought to be neglected for ever, more especially by so wise as well as potent a nation, and in an age of speculation like this, so fertile in, and so famous for its improvements (*g*). The Orkneys from their central situation seem to be extremely fit for the erecting a general magazine of all things requisite for every kind of fishery (*h*), and being, as they are, within a day's sail of the western islands on one side, and the Shetland isles on the other, the inhabitants of both countries, as well as the natives of all these isles, might be commodiously furnished from thence with the means of entering at once upon this important branch of industry, in their own bottoms, and for their own benefit, which would infallibly, and without any other assistance, put this trade totally and for ever into the hands of British subjects (*i*). Several of these islands are no less happily disposed for the Greenland and North American whale fishery. For here they might deposit their stores bring hither their blubber, extract their oil, and from hence export it in casks to proper markets (*k*). In time of war these islands would be an excellent station for a small squadron of his majesty's ships, as well for the protection of our own commerce, as for annoying that of our enemies; in which

(*f*) Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 525. Smith's England's improvement revived, p. 251. T. Gentleman's way to win wealth, p. 11, 12.—(*g*) The Spaniards boast the discovery of America, the Portuguese of the East Indies, the Italian states of having reduced commerce to a system, the Dutch of carrying those rules into practice. But the British nation has surpassed them all, witness the unrivalled strength of her naval power, the wide-spread empire of her colonies, the produce of her numberless manufactures, her credit stable as the globe, and her traffick which knows no bounds, but those imposed by nature on the world. But above all, from the generous spirit of supporting and rewarding industry, which gives life and activity, and I trust will give immortality to her unequalled and amazing grandeur.—(*h*) It is not intended by this to supersede other magazines, which will be undoubtedly necessary in the western islands, but to recommend a capital magazine in a place so seated, as that recourse might be had to it in any emergency, and from any of the islands. The rather because the fishing in Shetland, Lewis, and the Western isles, is in some seasons so great, that for want of such a magazine very great advantages are lost.—(*i*) This has been more than once mentioned, but till it is effected, it can never be too frequently repeated.—(*k*) They might here also complete their number of hands, winter their ships, and take in part of their provisions.

light also its ports and roads would be very convenient for privateers (*l*). As soon as by their fishing and the produce of it carried and sold at foreign markets, by applying to manufactures, more especially such as are requisite to the fishery, the materials for which they produce or might produce in their own isles, and sending out with their fish their native commodities to places where they never were carried before, money came to circulate; it would be a fit time to fix the price of the rents hitherto paid in kind, from the want of specie, and of preventing the accumulating of farms, a practice however beneficial (and that but for a time) to individuals, extremely detrimental to the public; longer leases should likewise be introduced, and every other method pursued that may bring the land now under cultivation, by an improved husbandry, into a superior condition, and thereby encouraging the bringing what has been considered as waste land into cultivation likewise (*m*).

It might be also highly expedient to introduce the Dutch model, for rendering islands, in their own nature much worse than these, rich and flourishing (*n*). This is no other, than first maturely considering, and then carefully adapting, particularly staples to such islands, as from their size, situation, produce, and natural advantages, are fittest for their reception (*o*). Such, for example, as encouraging boats, sloops, and bark building in any island where there are many creeks and bays of different sizes, for the commodious launching and convenient reception of such vessels when built (*p*). The encouraging in some or other of the large islands, the raising and manufacturing of hemp and flax, for the important purposes of making twine, nets, cordage, and other fishing and naval stores, than which nothing would be easier, when sufficient markets were once open for them amongst themselves (*q*). That these pre-

(*l*) In order to be convinced of this, we need not only to recur to any collection of voyages, which will shew, that the first land made in Europe by homeward-bound East or West India ships, is some or other either of the Orkney or Shetland islands; and certainly had their inhabitants pecuniary abilities to undertake them, no countries can be better situated for these trades.—(*m*) This was at once so very obvious, and so very practicable an improvement, that amongst the motives suggested by the earl of Morton in his petition to parliament, printed in the votes of the house of Commons, No. 22, January the twenty-sixth, 1741-42, draining and cultivating certain tracts of marshy and barren land, which now lie wholly useless and uncultivated, is one of the greatest weight.—(*n*) We find this one of the most early maxims adopted by the states; and it is by steady adherence to it that their dominions have continued to thrive.—(*o*) Upon the happy assignment of proper staples to proper places, the success of this method depends; and therefore the utmost circumspection is to be used in the choice, the utmost caution to be employed in their first establishment, and a steady perseverance in their support, till they become thoroughly rooted.—(*p*) All the assistance this would require, would be the establishing a few docks, which in their present circumstances these people cannot afford.—(*q*) Proper persons might be induced to go and instruct the natives in these trades, by a grant of lands on the due performance of their contracts.

posals are not only calculated for the benefit of the people of Orkney, but also are accompanied with propriety and practicability, will sufficiently appear if the reader reflects on the salt works which we have already observed were carried to perfection by the earl of Carrick in the island of Eda, and the little isle adjacent (*r*), an improvement, which if revived, would immediately correspond with, and turn highly to the advantage of, the fishery, as well as those that have been before mentioned.

THESE are modes of improvement which have been, some of them, mentioned long ago, and are all of them so plain and obvious, that they cannot be controverted; but I will conclude with two, that, as far as I know, were never hitherto suggested, and which, I apprehend, would not only be very effectual, but would also be equally quick and certain in their operations (*s*). The first is the erecting an UNIVERSITY, which might be done at a very small expence, added to the application of what the people already pay in virtue of the old ecclesiastical establishment (*t*). This University, from the central situation of the Orkneys, would be probably attended with the following happy effects (*u*). First, it would take away the necessity of sending the youth out of the country, where their parents are compelled to be at the charge of their education, and who from this very circumstance of being brought up in another place, and accustomed to other objects, people, and manners, are so weaned from their country that not one in five of them return. In the next place it would save the expences which their parents are now at, or, in other words, would keep considerable sums of money in the country, which now, and unless some such remedy is applied, will for ever go out of it, and consequently contribute to increase the circulation, which is a point of infinite importance. Lastly, it would attract numbers of young persons from the northern extremity of the continent, from the islands, and it may be from Norway, Denmark, and Germany, which would bring both men and money into the Orkneys, and be productive of other advantages, on which

(*r*) The same nobleman established another manufacture of the same kind on Pomona, called from thence the new work at Deerness. Besides these, as I have been informed, there were salt pans on Flota. Should it be asked, how came they to fail? the answer is, by the falling of the fishery. As they sunk they should revive together.—(*s*) It is from this motive that they are submitted to the public consideration, to whom it is possible their apparent good consequences may recommend them.—(*t*) There is a wide difference between doing things from a motive of superstition, and from reasons founded in sound policy; so since the inhabitants of Orkney still pay the rents of the bishoprick, it seems but justice to settle them on such foundation, that, as in the days of prelacy, they may be constantly expended amongst them.—(*u*) There is no doubt if such a scheme should ever be carried into execution, due care would be taken to render this a seminary of useful knowledge and practical science.

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there is not room to insist (*w*). My other proposal is, that the EAST INDIA COMPANY be allowed to erect a spacious magazine in one of these islands, where also a collector and a sufficient number of king's officers should also reside, to receive the duties of such East India commodities as might be taken off by British subjects; and which being afforded cheaper, would increase the consumption to the profit of the company, and of the revenue (*x*). This would likewise effectually prevent smuggling, more especially if a custom-house cutter was to be also stationed at the same island, and to cruize occasionally from thence. It would likewise enable the company to send their goods to Hamburg, to Lubec, and to other ports, on easier terms than they could be supplied by the Dutch, and the new Northern companies; which it is well known have been erected by the assistance of British subjects, and have been, are, and ever will be, very detrimental to this nation (*y*).

IF this history, description, and account of their produce and resources, should be so fortunate as to throw light sufficient on this subject, to induce an able and intelligent administration, to look with attention upon the Orkneys, and by the methods here proposed, or any other, enable the inhabitants to turn their abilities and labour to their own and to the public emolument, it will certainly produce very salutary, perhaps very surprising effects (*z*). The bringing the endeavours of thirty thousand persons, to live in that ease, and with those comforts which their fellow subjects in general enjoy, would increase their correspondence with Britain and her colonies, promote the consumption of their commodities and manufactures, and con-

(*w*) Amongst these, it will be none of the least, that it will afford a means of cultivating genius amongst the natives, and furnishing in time a subsistence to a few of them, who no question will in gratitude bend all their endeavours to render their studies beneficial to their country, and thereby repay the obligation.—(*x*) It may be easily conceived that the saving repeated freights, the accumulation of different profits, several insurances, and other charges, may in a great degree balance the duty. At all events whatever can be thus sold will be so much clear gain to the nation; as the whole purchase money would have been laid out with Swedes, Danes, or other strangers.—(*y*) The very forming such magazines, the maintenance of the officers of the crown and company, though less expensive here than they would be any where else, with the resort of shipping, &c. would very speedily change the face of affairs in the Orkneys, and possibly put it in the power of the people to undertake fisheries and other improvements without any assistance from the public, save a few good laws to second their endeavours.—(*z*) It has been shewn that these isles in point of territory are equal to Zealand, a province composed like this of islands of different sizes; it has been hinted, that by proper attention and reasonable encouragement, the Orkneys might be made as flourishing in time to come as Zealand now is. It may be demanded by some lover of precision, what does Zealand yield to the states? the only answer that can be returned to this is, that when Sir William Temple computed the ordinary revenue of the republic at twenty-one millions of guilders, Zealand actually paid about two millions, or upwards of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the expence of dikes, &c.

quently the revenue of the excise as well as customs. These are advantages we have prudently sought, by peopling countries at a vast distance; would there be less prudence in drawing the same resources here at home? these people are confessed to be frugal and diligent; but they wish to find the sweets of their own labour, and to feel their industry rewarded. What is this, but an earnest inclination to resume their fisheries, to serve on board our fleets, to bring more raw commodities to our markets, in order to carry more of our manufactures to theirs, to be instructed in our arts, to copy our examples, and thereby make these British islands more and more resemble Britain? ought we not to cast an eye on such people, ought we not to encourage their desires? In a word, ought we not to put it in their power to pay us tribute? this is all they ask, or I for them.

SECTION V.

Part II. Of the Islands of Shetland.

THE reasons why so little is to be known in respect to the ancient state of these islands. A succinct account of the several changes they have undergone. The principal causes why they have been hitherto so little known, and why they deserve to be better described, and more attentively considered. The several appellations which have been bestowed upon them. Their number, situation, and extent. The largest of these islands styled the Main Land, and the principal harbours therein particularly described. The islands that lie on the west side of the Main Land. The islands that are situated to the east of the Main Land. A distinct account of the island of Yell. The like of the island of Unst. Situation and present state of Foula, which was the Thule of Tacitus. Of Fair Isle, with a remarkable piece of history relating thereto. Of the climate and seasons in the Shetland isles. Their soil and produce. Are all of them admirably watered, and their coasts abounding with variety of excellent fish. The annual progress of herring. A short history of the Dutch fishery upon this coast. A modest computation of its total amount. Account of the inhabitants in respect to their persons, manners, husbandry, manufactures, and commerce. Reciprocal advantages that might arise from a closer connection, and more constant and regular intercourse between the inhabitants of these islands and those in Great Britain. The beneficial consequences that flowed from that constitution which originally took place in all our islands. Political deductions from the contents of this chapter, tending to shew what stupendous advantages may be derived from the improvement

provement even of the remotest British islands. An instance in support of this from the island of Gothland, and the great Mart of Wisbuy seated therein. The conclusion.

IN respect to the early history of these islands, and of their original inhabitants, we have already given all the memorable particulars that we could glean in treating of the people in the Orkneys (*a*). The writers of antiquity, to speak the truth, are totally silent as to any of them except THULE of which we have already said much, and in the course of this section shall have occasion to say somewhat more (*b*). It may be that Solinus, by his *Pomona diutina*, might mean the main Land of Shetland, to which that epithet agrees better than to the main Land of Orkney; yet this after all is but conjecture (*c*). These islands are not so much as mentioned by Fordun or Polydore Virgil; are but very slightly treated by Hector Boethius, Bishop Lesly, and Buchanan (*d*); barely touched by Camden, though pretty largely insisted upon by another writer (*e*) who flourished at the same time.

THERE are proofs sufficiently convincing, that they were very early inhabited by the Picts, or rather by those nations who were the original possessors of the Orkneys; and at the time of the total destruction of these nations, if any credit be due to tradition, their woods, for reasons elsewhere mentioned, were entirely ruined (*f*). It is highly probable that the people in Shetland as well as in the Orkneys, flourished under their own Princes dependent upon the crown of Norway; yet this seems to have been rather through what they acquired by fishing

(*a*) As the isles of Shetland lie so near the continent of Norway, it is reasonable to suppose they were peopled, or at least conquered, from thence, in which all the ancient Northern Historians agree; who in this respect, that is, as to the ancestors of the present inhabitants, are our surest guides. Mallet, introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc, p. 172.—(*b*) The learned Angrimus Jonas. Crymong, lib. i. takes great pains to prove that Thule, mentioned by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors, was not Iceland, but one of the British isles, and cites Ramus and Myritius, who were both of his opinion. Petrarch, lib. iii. Epist. i. has a great deal to the same purpose. Thule is a Phœnician word signifying dark or obscure; and in the British, Inis touil, implied Insula umbrosa, or the dark shady isle.—(*c*) Polyhist. cap. xxxv. His words are “sed Thule Larga, Pomona diutina copiosa est.” It should seem he meant to distinguish two islands lying near one to the other. If this was his meaning it will appear from the subsequent description of these isles, that it was not either ill founded or ill expressed.—(*d*) Scotorum Regni Descript. fol. 9. b. 10. a. Regionum & Insularum Scotiæ Descript. p. 40. 41. Rerum Scotticarum Hist. lib. i. p. 39.—(*e*) Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 43, who made a very free use of the materials collected by Leland and Ballenden's translation of Boethius.—(*f*) The Tradition is, that this was done by the Scots when they destroyed the Picts; but is more probably referred to the Norwegians rooting out the original possessors of Shetland.

and commerce than by the cultivation of their lands (g). It may also be reasonably presumed that they grew thinner of inhabitants after they were annexed to the crown of Scotland (h); and it is likely that they revived again, chiefly by the very great and extensive improvements which the Dutch made in the herring fishery upon their coasts, and the trade that the crews of their buffes then very numerous, carried on with the inhabitants, necessarily resulting from their want of provisions and other conveniencies, which in those days could not but be very considerable (i).

THERE are many reasons, which may be assigned, why these islands, though part of our dominions, have not hitherto been better known to us. They were commonly placed two degrees too far to the North in all the old maps (k), in order to make them agree with Ptolomy's description of Thule, which he asserted to be in the latitude of sixty-three degrees, which we find urged by Camden, as a reason why Thule must be one of the Shetland isles (l), to which Speed also agrees, though from their being thus wrong placed he could not find room for them in his map (m). Another, and that no light cause, was the many false, fabulous, and impertinent relations published concerning them (n), as if they were countries inhospitable and uninhabitable; and lastly, the indolence or indifference rather of the natives, who contenting themselves with those necessaries and conveniencies procured by their intercourse with other nations, and conceiving themselves neglected by their mother country, have seldom troubled her with their

(g) This is the sentiment of the present inhabitants, who think their ancestors, though they had less corn, were in better circumstances than themselves.—(h) It is likely, that many having alliances in that country retired to Norway and others to Iseland, and the isles of Ferroe, as desirous of retaining their old laws and customs.—(i) Sibbald, p. 30. 35. 38. When the Dutch buffes arrived, with twenty thousand men or more on board, they had a place assigned them on shore, and were allowed to barter their goods with the natives. This place was called their booth; and the like privilege was allowed to Hamburgers, Bremeners, and other strangers. The gentry let them these shops or warehouses, where the common people dealt with them in provisions, cloth, stockings &c.—(k) Cluverius never mentions Shetland; but he give us Thule, which he takes to be Iseland; but in treating of that country particularly, he restores it to the Danes.—(l) Britan. p. 850. In the latest edition of the English translation, col. 1484, where the learned author shews he had been led to believe some particulars very unfavourable for these islands and their inhabitants.—(m) Theatre of the British empire, p. 132. where he follows the erroneous situation, though he might have been better informed by the Dutch Charts.—(n) They represented the climate as intensely cold, the soil as composed of craggs and quagmires, so barren as to be incapable of bearing corn; to supply which, the people after drying fish bones, powdered them, then kneaded and baked them for bread. The large fish bones were said to be all the fuel they had. Yet in so dreary a country, and in such miserable circumstances, they were acknowledged to be very long lived, chearful and content.

applications.

applications (o). It is however very certain, that nothing can be of greater importance to Britain, than her having a clear and distinct account of every part of her dominions, a just idea of the advantages that may be derived from them (p), a precise view of the obstacles through which she has been hitherto deprived of those advantages, and a competent notion of the means by which they may be removed. The discussion of these points in regard to the Shetland isles, is what constitutes our present task.

THERE are few countries that have gone by more names than these islands; they were called in Islandic, *Hialtlandia*, from *Hialt*, the Hilt of a sword (q); this might be possibly be corrupted into *Hetland*, *Hitland*, or *Hethland*, though some tells us this signifies a high land (r). They have been likewise, and are still in some maps, called *Zetland* and *Zealand*, in reference, as has been supposed, to their situation (s). By the Danes, and by the natives, they are stiled *Yealtaland* (t); and notwithstanding the oddness of the orthography, this differs very little, if at all, from their manner of pronouncing *Zetland*, out of which pronunciation grew the modern names of *Shetland* and *Shotland* (u). But of this enough, and if it was not absolutely necessary, too much.

THE islands of *Shetland*, as we commonly call them, are well situated for trade. The nearest continent to them is Norway, the port of Berghen lying forty-four leagues east (w); whereas they lie forty-six leagues north north east from Buc-

(o) The people of substance take great care of their children's education, and send them to travel chiefly into Germany and the North, which produces habits and connections, which, whatever they may be to themselves, are by no means serviceable to the interests of Great Britain; it is therefore high time that they should be disposed, by a closer correspondence with us, to lay them aside.—(p) It will appear very fully hereafter, that a stronger and clearer instance than this, in support of the doctrine here laid down, could be hardly found.—(q) *Rerum Orcadenf. Hist. lib. i. cap. i. p. 5.* It is very evident, that from the Islandic our own word is derived.—(r) Martin's description of the western Islands, p. 371. On the same ground that the Dutch isles are called *Zealand*, or lands lying in the sea.—(s) Levinus Lemn. in lib. iv. de occult. nat. mirab. cap. 2. where he represents this appellation as common to all countries thus situated.—(t) Descriptions of the isles of Shetland, published by Sir Robert Sibbald, p. 1. which agrees with all the Northern writers.—(u) We know that in the old Scots language, Z was pronounced as we now pronounce Y; thus Year was wrote Zeir, Cunzie pronounced Cunyie, that is coin; and the proper names Mackenzie and Menzies are pronounced as if they were written Mackeny and Menyies. It is hoped this will explain Zetland's being pronounced Yetland. A desire of conciliating orthography and pronunciation seems to have produced Shetland.—(w) MS. Relation of the isles of Shetland, from the author's observations in several voyages.

hanness (*x*); east north east from Sanda, one of the Orkneys, about sixteen or eighteen leagues (*y*); six or seven leagues north east from Fair isle (*z*); fifty-eight leagues east from the Ferroe isles (*a*); and at nearly the same distance north east from Lewis (*b*). The southern Promontory of the main land called Swinburgh Head, lies in fifty-nine degrees and fifty minutes of North latitude; and the northern extremity of Unst, the most remote of them all, in the latitude of sixty-one degrees fifteen minutes (*c*). The meridian of London passes through this last island, which lies in the longitude of two degrees thirty minutes west from Paris; and about five degrees fifteen minutes east from the meridian of Cape Lizard (*d*). According to the old accounts, from which there seems no just reason to vary, there are in all forty-six inhabited islands of different sizes, forty holms, and thirty skerries (*e*). It is impossible to speak with precision; but according to the best computation we have been able to form, the Shetland isles, contain near three times as much land as the Orkneys; they are considered also in this light, equal in size to the island of Madeira; and not inferior to the provinces of Utrecht, Zealand, and all the rest of the Dutch islands taken together (*f*).

THE principal of the Shetland islands is stiled MAIN LAND, which extends in length from north to south about sixty miles, and is in some places above twenty broad, in others not more than two (*g*). It is however every where so intersected by arms of the sea, that there is not a single spot therein that is full three English miles from salt water (*h*). The whole coast, a very few places excepted, is a high, rough, inaccessible rock; and within land, the country is mountainous, mossy, and full of morasses (*i*). Here and there however, but more especially

(*x*) From Captain Thomas Preston's accurate map of these islands, which if it was republished would be of great service.—(*y*) Captain Thomas Preston in the short notes joined to his map.—(*z*) Martin's description of the western isles, p. 376.—(*a*) Smith's England's improvement revived, B. vi. p. 251, where we have an account of his voyage thither, A. D. 1633, by order of the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.—(*b*) Idem ibid.—(*c*) MS. Relation of the Shetland isles verified by authentic observations.—(*d*) From the reduced chart in the Essai géographique sur les isles Britanniques.—(*e*) From the larger description in Blaeu's Atlas, p. 148.—(*f*) This point has been attentively considered, due allowances made for the numerous inlets, and is rather within than beyond the truth.—(*g*) The common computation is here followed, though Captain Preston (reckoning probably by English miles) makes it thirty broad.—(*h*) This is also a fact generally agreed, and indeed the map sufficiently proves it; these inlets are what the natives call Voes.—(*i*) See Mr. Preston's account in the philosophical transactions of the royal society, No. 473. p. 57. Abridgement, vol. xi. p. 1358.

towards the coast, there are little parcels of land that are both smooth and fertile (*k*). Among the numerous inlets of the sea that pierce both sides of the island, some of which enter several miles, and in the language of the country are stiled VOES; there are a great many ports, not fewer than twenty, that may be with justice stiled harbours; and amongst these are six, three on each side of the island, that are remarkably good, and deserve therefore to be particularly mentioned (*l*). On the west side is Scalloway Voe, which flows into the land through several islands of various sizes, by which there are two entrances that lead to the harbour, which is deep, safe and commodious (*m*). The town of Scalloway before which it lies, was formerly the chief, indeed the only one in the island. A. D. One thousand six hundred, Patrick earl of Orkney built a stately castle here, which is now in ruins (*n*); and the place in a course of years so much declined, that there are scarce thirty houses (*o*). On the same side of the island are Olis Voe and Valley Sound, both fine ports and very capacious (*p*). On the other side of the island, that is on the east, the town of Lerwick, which is the present capital, is situated, which consists of upwards of three hundred houses, and is every day increasing (*q*). Opposite to this town lies the island of Bressay or Brassa, and between the island and the main runs the famous BRASSA, sometimes also called BROAD SOUND, in which no less than two thousand sail of vessels have lain at once safe and commodiously (*r*). It is four miles in length, in some places two, in others one mile broad, in some others much narrower; but deep and well secured from winds. There is towards the North end a rock called the *Unicorn* (*s*). In one thousand six hundred and forty, the Dunkirk squadron of Spanish ships,

(*k*) There is good reason to believe, that even in the interior part of the country many such spots might be found and improved, at least this is the case in the Ferroe isles, and in Iceland. But in the present state of things, this is scarce to be expected. But if the country was more populous, that is, if more of the natives were enabled to continue in it, this and many other improvements would follow of course.—(*l*) This is the great and distinguishing advantage of this and the other islands remarked by Sir William Monson, illustrated by Mr. Smith, and confirmed by Captain Preston, all English writers of indisputable credit. It is no small honour to Shetland that these gentlemen concurred in opinion as to its importance, and published their opinion for the information of the public.—(*m*) In Mr. Preston's map both these entrances are particularly described, as is also the harbour.—(*n*) Over the gate was this inscription, *Patricius Orchadiæ & Zelandiæ Comes*.—(*o*) The country about Scalloway is incomparably better than about Lerwick; but then there is no comparison to be made between their ports.—(*p*) See Captain Preston's map and his account in the transactions.—(*q*) Blaeu, p. 148. Sibbald, p. 2, 3. Martin's description of the western islands, p. 388.—(*r*) Sibbald, p. 30. Smith's England's improvement revived, B. vi. p. 252.—(*s*) When James Hepburn Duke of Orkney fled hither, he was pursued by William Kirkcaldie of Grange, in a ship called the Unicorn, which striking thereon, left its name to this rock. This gave the Duke an opportunity of escaping, who after lying many years in prison in Denmark perished at length miserably in that confinement.

consisting of ten sail, attacked and destroyed four Dutch men of war, that had been sent to convoy home their East India fleet (*t*). In one thousand six hundred and fifty-three, the English fleet, consisting of ninety-four sail under the command of the Admirals Dean and Monk, anchored here (*u*); and in one thousand six hundred and sixty-five, the Earl of Sandwich, with ninety-two men of war under his command, lay for some time in this harbour (*w*). The same year a fort was erected by the orders of King Charles the second, which together with the town was burned and destroyed August the thirteenth, one thousand six hundred and seventy-three by the Dutch (*x*). On the same side the island with Breffa Sound, are Dura Voe and Balta, both good ports, and also Catford Voe, where in the summer season a whole navy may ride with great convenience (*y*). There are few or no sands or shoals upon the coast, except one on the west side called Have de Grind (*z*), and some dangerous rocks to the north west (*a*).

ON the west side of the main land there are not fewer than twenty islands of very different sizes, besides holms and skerries; neither are either of these unprofitable, as the former afford vast quantities of fine grass for the feeding of cattle; and on the coasts of the latter are caught abundance of fine fish of different sorts; and on both there are immense quantities of fowls (*b*). To the south of Scalloway lies the little island of St. Ninian, corruptly called St. Ringing's, in which, though but a mile long and half a mile broad, there is a large well-built church, which shews that it was once fully inhabited (*c*). Opposite to the town of Scal-

(*t*) Of these, two were sunk in the sound, a third ran on shore, and was set on fire by her own Captain, and the fourth was taken.—(*u*) In the preceding year Admiral Blake had dissipated their herring buffes, which occasioned a great confusion in Holland.—(*w*) Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 541. Sibbald, p. 30. Le Clerc Histoire des provinces-unies, tom. iii. p. 85. 87.—(*x*) Sibbald, p. 30. The Dutch suspended the herring fishery this year, and therefore were not expected.—(*y*) Blaeu, 149. Sibbald, p. 15. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 10.—(*z*) Mr. Preston's account of Shetland. in the philosophical transactions, No. 473.—(*a*) As the coast in general is high and bold, seen at a great distance from sea, and the harbours numerous, safe, and easy of access, it is, as Mr. Preston well observes, a wonder that these isles are so little known, and have been so long neglected. The first has been probably the cause of the second. It is not a little strange that this gentleman's map is not now to be purchased.—(*b*) There is scarce one of these islands, that would not, if the inhabitants had the means and the encouragements necessary to render them industrious, furnish them with the power of subsisting, and carrying on a beneficial as well as extensive commerce, the profits of which must ultimately and necessarily center in Britain; and what better reason can be assigned for her attention and assistance? —(*c*) Sibbald, p. 15, 16. Martin's description of the western isles, p. 379.

way lie several islands, which, as we have before observed, break the rapidity of the flood, and form safe entrances into the harbour. The biggest of these isles is Trondra, three miles long and two broad (*d*). Burra consists of two islands (*e*), one called House, the other Kirk Island, in neither of which it is said mice can live (*f*). To the north of these lies Papa Stour, or the Great Papa; which, though but two miles long and one broad, is esteemed the pleasantest, and for its size the best furnished with the necessaries of life of any of these isles (*g*). There are besides this, Papas, and the little Papa (*h*); and to the north of these, Rou Stour, or the Great Rou, eight miles long and two broad, with a good port (*i*).

THERE are also many islands on the east side of the main land; some of which it may not be improper to mention. To the south of Lerwick lies Moufa or the Queen's Island, one mile in length and about a quarter of a mile broad, and is remarkable for having upon it the most compleat and entire of those little fortifications, called by the natives BRUGHS, but by the Scots commonly *Piet's Houses*, that are still remaining in any of these islands (*k*). Over against Lerwick lies Bressay or Brassa isle, five miles from south to north, and two from west to east. This isle for its size is very mountainous, and amongst many hills there are two in it very conspicuous (*l*).

(*d*) Sibbald, p. 28. Martin, p. 378.—(*e*) It is necessary to remark this, because in some maps we meet with these isles under their proper names, and in others under that of Burra.—(*f*) Some attribute this (Martin, p. 380) to the isles of Burra. Others to the little isle of Haveray, which lies near them. Sibbald, p. 27.—(*g*) Martin, p. 379. Some such island as this, being properly laid out, judiciously cultivated, and the people encouraged to undertake some useful manufacture, all which might be brought about at no great expence, would establish a precedent that would be quickly imitated, and is perhaps the sole thing requisite to render these islands populous, and the people in them happy.—(*h*) There is another Papa near the coast of Norway, and a little island of the same name near Iceland. Perhaps the Papæ came from these into the Orkneys and Shetland, or possibly, when driven out of these, they might retire to those islands.—(*i*) Sibbald, p. 33, 34. Martin, p. 379. The port is called the Hams of Rou or Rooe, landlocked, and very safe.—(*k*) We have an exact description of this brugh in Latin, by the learned Mr. Maule, of the noble family of Panmure, one of the ablest antiquaries his country ever produced. These brughs in their form are not unlike pigeon houses, they have a winding stair in the wall of each, which reaches quite to the top. These served as watch-towers and beacons, having heaps of peat on the top, which were kindled to give notice of an enemy's appearance; and therefore all the brughs in an island were in sight one of another. There were cells or apartments underneath for securing their persons and effects; and in some of them subterraneous passages to some creek, wherein their boats lay, in which they might escape. Whoever attentively considers the motives which induced these people to raise such structures, how well calculated they were to answer the ends for which they were built, and for how many ages they have resisted the rage of time, will hesitate at calling those who constructed them barbarians.—(*l*) One of these is on the east side, called Androws's Hill; the other which is the highest, at the south end, called the Wart or Beacon Hill.

It is in a manner over-run with heath, though there are some considerable parcels of good pasturage and arable lands near the shore. There are also eight fresh water lochs, abounding with fine trout and eels. It must have been very populous in former times, since there are the ruins of five small forts, and there are still two churches and a chapel. It has likewise a good port called Aiths Voe (*m*). At a small distance to the east lies another isle, called the Nofs, two miles long and three quarters of a mile broad; it has a church upon it, is equally fertile and pleasant, and has a large holm belonging to it, in which there are abundance of sea fowls (*n*). Whalsey, that is the isle of whales, which lies to the north of Bressay, and to the east of the main land, is about nine miles in circumference (*o*). At six leagues distance from this isle lie the Skerries, on which, in one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, the Carmalan of Amsterdam, a very rich East India ship, was lost (*p*). To the north of Whalsey there are many small islands, most of which are inhabited; and though but insignificant at present, yet if any change of fortune should happen to the Shetland isles, they would probably partake of it, and by being turned to useful purposes, and in consequence of that retaining all the posterity of their present inhabitants, come to be thought of more consequence (*q*).

BUT besides these, there are two large and considerable islands belonging to Shetland, with several small ones in their vicinity, of which therefore we ought to speak more particularly. The first of these is YELL, which anciently was written *Zeal*, making however, as we have before remarked, no great alteration in the pronunciation (*r*). This island, in the opinion of the learned Mr. Maule, from its nearness to Norway, seems

(*m*) This opens to the north west, and runs up to the south east about a mile; it is a quarter of a mile broad, good clean anchoring ground in eight, nine, or ten fathom water. The inhabitants have a tradition, that in ancient times the English resorted particularly to this harbour, and had a place on the island for curing their fish, and selling their goods, which was called the English Booth.—

(*n*) Sibbald, p. 30, 31. Martin, p. 380.—(*o*) Two things are remarked in this island (in some old writings called *Qualsøy*) the first is, that the inhabitants are exceedingly distressed by rats, though these creatures cannot live in most of the other isles. Martin, p. 378. The other, that the mariner's compass being placed on a little hill, the poles of the needle are immediately changed, and as suddenly, on being removed to a very small distance, recover their proper direction. Sibbald, p. 39.—(*p*) Martin, p. 378. He says only four of the crew were saved, and that the cargo was valued at three millions of guilders.—

(*q*) If a right direction was given to the people's industry, and they had an easy access to proper markets, this would be speedily effected.—(*r*) This will be easily understood by pronouncing Z like Y. Sir James Skene in his explanation of law terms, translates *Virgata Terræ*, an *Zairde of Land*, i. e. a *Yard Land*; and according to this mode of pronunciation, Zell or Zeal, is spoken Yell, or Yeal; Zetland or Zeatland, Yetland or Yeatland, which has been corrupted into Shetland, as is before mentioned.

to have been the first inhabited (*s*), and to have given name to all the rest. His opinion has certainly a great degree of probability, for the natives call themselves, and are called by all the northern nations, *Yalts*, and their language *Yaltmoll*. Now in the Islandic, which as has been already hinted, was the original language of Norway, *Fell* signifies a dark cloud, and consequently *Felland*, or *Feltland*, a rainy country, which it may be presumed is at least as good an etymology as any that has been hitherto offered (*t*). Mr. Maule likewise thinks that this was the true THULE (*u*). This island lies north east by east from main land, and is divided from it by an arm of the sea, called Yell Sound (*w*). In the old descriptions, *Fell* is said to be twenty miles long and eight broad: It is very mountainous, full of moss; but there are pretty considerable pastures, in which they feed a great many sheep; and it also affords plenty of peat. It has eight large voes or harbours, besides many smaller bays, which would not be thought despicable anchoring places in other countries. It seems to have been populous in ancient times, since there are in it three churches, twenty chapels, and many brughs or Pictish forts (*x*). There are dependent upon it *Hafcofca*, two miles long and one broad, *Samphra* and *Bigga*, all of them islands very fertile in grass (*y*). Besides these, to the south west lies Fetlar, or Theodore's Isle, nine or ten miles in compass, with a church, ten chapels, and many brughs; it has several creeks for small boats, but nothing that can be called a port (*z*).

THE other of these two larger islands is UNST, which is also the most northern of all the Shetland Isles, and at the same time the pleasantest, and not the least fertile amongst them (*a*). It lies at a small distance east from Yell, having that large island between it and the main land, being divided

(*s*) It may be objected that Unst is still nearer to Norway, and the pleasanter island of the two, by which, of late, it has gained considerably on the other. But this objection answers itself; since under these circumstances, Yell could never have had the superiority over the other, if it had not been the first planted.

—(*t*) It is certain that no great stress is to be laid on any etymology of this kind, though by the way this agrees exactly with the Phœnician Thule; but the desire of coming as near truth as possible is always laudable.—(*u*) By this is to be understood the Thule of the Phœnicians and Greeks, not that of Tacitus and the Romans, as shall be hereafter explained.—(*w*) Blaeu, p. 148. who calls it Zeal. Sibbald, p. 34. Martin, p. 381.—(*x*) This, at the same time it demonstrates the island's being well settled even in the earliest ages, confirms the argument before advanced, that it was first inhabited.—(*y*) Blaeu, p. 148. Sibbald, p. 35. Martin, p. 381.—(*z*) Sibbald, p. 35. Martin, p. 381. MS. relation of the Shetland isles.—(*a*) In like manner the northern and north-eastern islands of Ferroe, the northern parts of Iceland, and, which is most singular, the north-eastern part of Greenland (whence it receives its name) is fertile in pasturage. See Debes's description of the isles of Ferroe, p. 115. See likewise the new accounts of Greenland by the Moravians.

from

from the first mentioned island by an arm of the sea, called Blumel Sound (*b*). UNST is eight miles long, and between three and four broad, and divided into twenty-four *Scattalds*, twenty-two of which have each of them a proportion of sea coast (*c*). There is great plenty of hether and peat, with some good pasture and a little of very fertile arable ground (*d*). Near the middle of this isle there is a loch three miles in extent, in which there are abundance of trout, eel, and flounders (*e*). Here are three churches, twenty-four chapels, and eleven brughs. There was also a castle at the southern extremity, called Mownes, now in decay (*f*). There are two excellent harbours, the one in the south called Via Bay, being covered by an island of the same name (*g*), equally commodious and capacious, having nine fathom water, and good anchoring ground (*h*). The other is on the east side, covered by the isle of Balta, and from thence called Balta Voe, very safe and spacious, with eight fathom water (*i*). There are besides these several bays and roads less considerable. The number of inhabitants in these islands, that is Unst and its dependencies, may be about fifteen hundred, and they have seventy fishing boats (*k*). Via is a very fair island, and produces great plenty of fine and rich grass. The same may be said of Balta, which is also well stocked with rabbits (*l*). There are besides these islets four or five holms, which feed sheep and cattle; and the island of Linga, low, flat, covered with moss, but which would be a very convenient place for salt pans, if the inhabitants were in such a condition as to be capable of carrying on a fishery entirely on their own account (*m*).

BETWEEN six and seven leagues west from the main land lies the island of FULA or FOULA, commonly called by our seamen

(*b*) Blaeu, p. 148. Sibbald, p. 36, 37. Martin, p. 381.—(*c*) MS relation of the isles of Shetland. Skatald, in the Islandic, signifies a portion of land paying tribute.—(*d*) The ingenious and worthy gentleman who sent me the relation to which I so frequently refer, informs me that a small spot of sandy soil in the north of this isle, being sown with bear or bigg on the third of May, was reaped on the tenth of August, both old stile, and produced twenty-four fold. This is surely sufficient to vindicate the soil from the imputation of being barren.—(*e*) Sibbald, p. 38.—(*f*) This was built by Lawrence Bruce, Esq; and was a spacious regular structure.—(*g*) Blaeu, p. 148. Sibbald. Martin, p. 382.—(*h*) Sibbald, p. 36, 37. where we are told it has three entrances, and as an harbour is little inferior to Bressay Sound.—(*i*) It lies on the east side of Unst, and is deservedly esteemed an excellent haven.—(*k*) These boats or yawls carry four or five men each, and by being constantly employed in these tempestuous seas, the crews of them become hardy and skilful sailors.—(*l*) The isle of Via, though so called in Blaeu, is named Uzea by Sibbald and Martin.—(*m*) This no doubt might be as easily done in many small islands whenever it shall become necessary.

FOUL Island, in opposition to that of which we shall presently speak (*n*). It is about three miles long, narrow, and full of rough, steep, and bare rocks, one of which is so large, and runs up to so great a height, as to be clearly seen from the Orkneys (*o*). This therefore may be esteemed with the greatest probability to be the THULE of TACITUS, whatever might be the THULE of the Phœnicians and Greeks (*p*). It has scarce any pasturage, a very little arable land; but that though small in size, is however very fertile, out of the produce of which, with fowl and fish, the poor inhabitants subsist. They have nothing that can be called a port, and the only commodities they have, are stock-fish, train-oil, and feathers (*q*).

THE FAIR ISLE lies between Orkney and Shetland, ten or twelve leagues east north east from the former; seven or, as others say, ten leagues south west from the latter; and about eighteen or nineteen leagues south east from Foula (*r*). It is full three miles long, and scarce half a mile broad, very craggy with three high rocks, which are clearly seen both from Orkney and Shetland (*s*). There is in this island also a small quantity of arable land, which is very fruitful, and well manured; they might have considerably more, but they are obliged to reserve this for peat and pasturage (*t*). They have for the size of the island a great many sheep, and those are very good and very fat; but they have no kind of moor fowl or other game, but very great plenty of sea and water fowl, and all kinds of fish upon their coasts. They have a very pretty church, but no minister, being annexed to one of the parishes in Shetland, or served by an itinerant minister, as some late accounts assert. A layman reads the Scriptures every Sunday in the church, the inhabitants being a very religious, harmless, sober, and honest people (*u*). They have in effect no port, though they have two that are nominally so, one at the south end, which is full of rocks, where only small boats can lie, and that but indifferently; the other at the north east end, larger and safer in the

(*n*) There is nothing more common in the journals of seamen, who have come, as they phrase it, north about, than to mark their having had sight of Foul or Fair island, and sometimes of both.—(*o*) Martin's account of the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 380.—(*p*) This was the only one of the Shetland Islands that could have been discerned by the Roman vessels in their passage round the Orkneys.—(*q*) Sibbald, p. 31.—(*r*) Blaeu, p. 147. Smith's England's Improvement revived, B. vi. p. 252. Sibbald, p. 23.—(*s*) Shetland, that is the main land, if the horizon be clear, is very plainly seen; Orkney less distinctly as the lands lie low.—(*t*) These, the situation of the inhabitants considered, are as necessary, if not more so than bread, with which, when in scarcity, they can be more easily supplied than with flesh or fuel. But there is no doubt to be made, that even this little island, with all its imperfections, might have been by proper management improved, and with this view considerable offers were made to the proprietor, but rejected.—(*u*) This is, and has been always their character, owing probably to the good example of their ancestors, and the small commerce they have with the rest of the world.

summer time, so as to serve commodiously enough for their fishery. Small and insignificant as this island may seem, there is a very remarkable piece of history belonging to it (*w*). The Duke of Medina Sidonia, when commander in chief of the famous Spanish Armada in one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, was wrecked on the east coast of this island. The ship broke to pieces, but the Duke and about two hundred more escaped. They lived there till both themselves and the inhabitants were very near famished; at length the Duke and the poor remains of his people were carried over to the main land of Shetland by Andrew Humphry. He continued some time at Quendale, and then embarked on board the same small ship, and was safely conveyed therein to Dunkirk, for which service he rewarded Andrew Humphry with three thousand marks. This island produced to its late proprietor between fifty and sixty pounds sterling per annum, and was sold at Edinburgh, on the twentieth of June one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, for the sum of ten thousand two hundred pounds Scots, or about eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling, to James Stuart of Burgh, Esquire (*x*).

IN respect to climate, the Shetland islands have not much to boast, and yet are very far from being such miserable habitations as some have represented them (*y*). The longest day in the island of Unst is nineteen hours fifteen minutes, and of consequence the shortest day four hours and forty-five minutes. The spring is very late, the summer very short; the autumn also is of no long duration, dark, foggy, and rainy; the winter sets in about November, and lasts till April, and sometimes till May (*z*). They have frequently in that season storms of thunder, much rain, but little frost or snow (*a*). High winds are indeed very frequent and very troublesome, yet they seldom produce any terrible effects. The Aurora Borealis is as common here as in any of the northern countries (*b*). In the winter season the sea swells and rages in such a manner, that for

(*w*) Sibbald, p. 25.—(*x*) It was sold in the Court of Exchequer, agreeable to a rental from which the annual value was taken, that is mentioned in the text.—(*y*) Shetland has not however been worse treated in this respect than other northern countries, as may be clearly discerned by comparing Burgher-master Anderson's with Dr. Horrebow's account of Iceland, by which it appears, that it is in all seasons habitable, and in some pleasant, though as far north from Shetland as Shetland is from Edinburgh.—(*z*) Blaeu, p. 148, 149. Sibbald, p. 2. Captain Preston's account in the transactions, No. 147, p. 57. MS. relation, all agreeing in the main.—(*a*) All the accounts old and new agree in these particulars. Mr. Smith, A. D. 1633, saw no snow, but Mr. Preston saw it covered with snow 20th May 1744. In the year 1762, my correspondent assures me the winter was remarkably mild; so that the dismal ideas of its being a miserable, bleak, frozen region appear to have little foundation, and in proportion as it is better cultivated will have gradually less.—(*b*) These boisterous winds blow commonly from some point between the south and the west. The Aurora Borealis is seen almost every night about the winter solstice.

five or six months their ports are inaccessible, and of course the people during that space have no correspondence with the rest of the world (*c*).

THE soil in the interior part of the main land, for the most part, is mountainous, moorish, and boggy, yet not to such a degree as to render the country utterly impassable; for many of the roads here, and in some of the northern isles, are as good as any other natural roads, and the people travel them frequently on all occasions (*d*). Near the coasts there are sometimes for miles together flat pleasant spots, very fertile both in pasture and corn (*e*). The mountains produce large crops of very nutritive grass in the summer, and they cut considerable quantities of hay, with which they feed their cattle in the winter. They might with a little attention bring more of their country into cultivation; but the people are so much addicted to their fishery, and feel so little necessity of having recourse to this method for subsistence, that they are content, how strange soever that may seem to us, to let four parts in five of their land remain in a state of nature (*f*).

THEY want not considerable quantities of marble in different islands, though they use but little; hitherto there has been no chalk found; limestone and freestone there are in the southern parts of the main land in great quantities, and also in the neighbouring islands, particularly Fetlar, and considerable quantities of slate very good in its kind (*g*). No mines have been hitherto wrought, though there are in many places visible appearances of several kinds of metal (*h*). Some solid pieces of silver, it is said, have been turned up by the plough (*i*). In the island of Via, a yellow metal has been met with, which being found difficult to melt, has been neglect-

(*c*) We must by no means suppose the temper and disposition of the people affected by the dreariness of the season. Winter, on the contrary, is a kind of carnival in Shetland. All ranks of people eat flesh and live well during this period of relaxation. Gentlemen of family and fortune, of which there are many here, live so hospitably and so politely, that few strangers regret the length of the winter who happen to spend it amongst them.—(*d*) MS. relation of the isles of Shetland.—(*e*) These are generally inclosed with dykes, and cultivated according to the manner of the country, which is daily improving.—(*f*) This is not a greater misfortune to the commons of Shetland, who work hard and fare yet harder, than to the community; for if their lands were improved, and the people in general lived better, they must become thereby more useful to the public; and it is the consideration of this very important and incontestible truth, that should recommend them to public protection, as it has been the sole motive to my writing this section to point it out.—(*g*) Martin, p. 390, 391. Captain Preston's remarks. MS. relation of the isles of Shetland. (*h*) This may be accounted for, first from the want of people, next from the want of wood, and lastly from the want of funds to defray the expence.—(*i*) Captain Preston's remarks in the philosophical transactions, No. 473.

ed (*k*). In some of the smaller isles there are strong appearances of iron; but through the want of proper experiments being made, there is, in this respect at least, hitherto nothing certain (*l*). Their meadows are inclosed with dykes, and produce very good grafs (*m*). The little corn they grow is chiefly barley with some oats; and even in the northern extremity of Unst (as we have hinted before) the little land they have is remarkable for its fertility (*n*). The hills abound with medicinal herbs, and their kitchen gardens thrive as well, and produce as good greens and roots as any in Britain (*o*). Of late years, and since this has been attended to, some gentlemen have had even greater success than they expected in the cultivating tulips, roses, and many other flowers. It is true, that though, as has been before observed, they have no trees, and hardly any shrubs except juniper, yet they have a tradition that their country was formerly overgrown with woods; and it seems to be a confirmation of this that the roots of timber trees have been and are still dug up at a great depth; and that in some, and those too inaccessible places, the rotten tree is still found growing wild (*p*). That this defect, viz. the want of wood at present, does not arise entirely from the soil or climate, appears from several late experiments; some gentlemen having raised ash, maple, horse chesnuts, &c. in their gardens (*q*). Though the inhabitants are without either wood or coals, they are very well supplied with fuel, having great plenty of hether and peat (*r*). The black cattle in this country are in general of a larger sort than in Orkney, which is owing to their having more extensive pastures; a clear proof that still farther improve-

(*k*) Martin, p. 382. He calls this island Uzia; Sibbald names it Uzea.—(*l*) It would cost the public little to send an experienced person thither, in order to put this point out of doubt, and the consequences might be considerable.—(*m*) Sibbald, p. 3. and all the later writers. Their scythes are very short, and they cut their hay in the beginning of August.—(*n*) An instance of this has been given before of barley sown and reaped in ninety-nine days. In Norway, A. D. 1732, they sowed and reaped the same grain in fifty-eight days. The quantity also twenty-four fold is by no means extraordinary, since in the Ferroe Islands there are instances of much larger increase; and when agriculture shall be improved, no doubt the same may be very reasonably expected here.—(*o*) This is a fact concerning which there cannot be the least doubt, and which, maturely considered, might lead to great as well as numerous improvements.—(*p*) There seems to be no reason to question that woods grew anciently here; many trees have been dug up several feet under a peat moss; large tracts of mossy ground are probably produced by decayed or destroyed woods; and with regard to climate, woods grow farther to the north in Norway; and to remove any objection that may arise as to the sea air, it is sufficient to remark, there are still woods (near the sea) in the latitude of 66°. 20'. in Iceland.—(*q*) MS. relation of the isles of Shetland, and the reader may rely upon the facts.—(*r*) In this respect (so long as the inhabitants are confined to this fuel) the people in Shetland are better provided with it than those in the Orkneys.

ments might be made in respect to size (*s*). Their horses are small, but strong, stout, and well-shaped, live very hardy, and to a great age (*t*). They have likewise a breed of small swine, the flesh of which when fat is esteemed very delicious (*u*). They have no goats, hares, or foxes, and in general no wild or venomous creatures of any kind, except rats in some few islands (*w*). They have no heath or moor fowl; which is the more remarkable as there are every where immense quantities of hether; but there are many sorts of wild and water fowl, particularly the dunter goose, clack goose, solan goose, swans, ducks, teal, whaps, foists, lyres, kittiwaiks, maws, plovers, scarfs, &c (*x*). There is likewise the ember goose, which is said to hatch her egg under her wing (*y*). Eagles and hawks they have more than they desire, as also ravens, crows, mews, &c.

ALL these islands are well watered, for there are every where excellent springs, some of them mineral and medicinal (*z*). They have indeed no rivers, but many pleasant rills or rivulets, which they call burns, of different sizes; in some of the largest they have admirable trouts, some of which are of fifteen and even of twenty pounds weight (*a*); many fresh water-lakes, well stored with trout and eels, and in most of them there are also large and fine flounders. In some very excellent cod (*b*). These fresh water lakes, if the country was better peopled, and the common people more at their ease, are certainly capable of great improvements. The sea coasts of the main land of Shetland, in a strait line, are fifty five leagues; and therefore there cannot be a country conceived more proper for establishing an extensive fishery (*c*). What the inhabitants have been

(*s*) These cattle are from one hundred and eighty to three hundred pounds weight, extraordinary fat, and fine meat. In Mr. Smith's time they were sold at twenty or twenty-five shillings a head; in Mr. Preston's, at the distance of more than a century, for less; which shews evidently that the demand for them is decreased, in consequence, as I conjecture, of the decline of the Dutch fishery.—(*t*) My correspondent says he is possessed of one twenty-six years old, in good condition, and has rid on one that was two-and-thirty.—(*u*) Sibbald, p. 7.—(*w*) Blaeu, p. 148. Sibbald, p. 22. Martin, p. 291.—(*x*) Captain Preston's remarks, and all the relations ancient and modern.—(*y*) Dr. Horrebow, in his history of Iseland, p. 67. calls this the Lomen or Northern diver, and assures us they make their nests far within land, near fresh water, and hatch like other water fowl.—(*z*) MS. Relation of the isles of Shetland.—(*a*) Sibbald, p. 29. Captain Preston's remarks. MS. Relation of the isles of Shetland.—(*b*) Captain Preston speaks of the cod from his own knowledge. All accounts agree as to the other fish.—(*c*) If the inhabitants of Shetland and the other isles were once put into a condition to carry on all the various fisheries, which their situation has so manifestly enabled them to pursue, they would quickly beat out foreigners; and then all the produce of their industry would ultimately center in Britain as it ought to do.

hitherto able to do, their natural advantages considered, does not deserve that name, notwithstanding they export large quantities of cod, tusk, ling, and safe, insomuch that the bounty allowed by acts of parliament amounts from fourteen hundred to two thousand pounds annually (*d*). They have besides cod-lins, haddocks, whittings, turbot, skate, and a variety of other fish. In many of the inlets there are prodigious quantities of excellent oysters, lobsters, muscles, cockles, and other shell fish (*e*). As to amphibious creatures they have multitudes of otters and seals (*f*); add to these that amber, ambergris and other spoils of the ocean, are frequently found upon the coasts (*g*).

As the herring fishery on the coasts of Shetland still is, and has been long the great and distinguishing glory of these isles, we shall give as clear, but at the same time as concise an account of it as possible. The herring is a fish that has been distinguished by many honourable epithets, on account of the immense profits derived therefrom in commerce (*h*). It has the testimony of eminent physicians in its favour as to its wholesomeness, when cured in its proper season (*i*); and it is universally allowed, that the very best herring in the world are caught upon the Shetland coasts (*k*). We have no room to enter into conjectures or philosophical reasons, and shall therefore confine what is here advanced strictly to facts. The first of these is, that about the beginning of the year, the herrings, like the mackerel, plaice, and other fish of passage, issue from the remote recesses of the north, in a body surpassing descripti-

(*d*) They make also immense quantities of train-oil from the livers of large fish. As for sillucks and piltocks, which are a kind of small whales, the meaner sort live on their flesh, such as it is, and milk during the summer. Their better kinds of fish, such as cod, ling, tusk, &c. they cure for foreign markets, and more especially for Hamburgh, with which city they have a great correspondence.—(*e*) Martin, p. 285. Captain Preston's remarks. MS. Relation of the isles of Shetland.—(*f*) The otters they call tikes; and seals, selkies. The former have fine furs, and the skins of the latter are prettily speckled.—(*g*) The wrecks of ships, which are but too frequent (Captain Preston mentions three or four during the few months he remained here) belong to the Admiralty.—(*h*) Willoughby calls the herring, *Rex Piscum*, the King of fish; the Swedes stile it the royal fish; the Hamburgers, the crowned fish. In Islandic the herring is called *syld*, in the Norwegian *sild*, in Swedish *sill*, in French *hareng*, in Italian *Aringhe*, in Dutch *harinke*, in the British of North Wales *Penuag*, i. e. hollow head, in South Wales *Ysgadenin*, in the plural *skadan*, whence our *shad*, in Cornish *hernan guidn*, i. e. white, to distinguish it from *hernan the pilchard*.—(*i*) Vossii de origine et progressu Idololatæ. lib. iv. cap. xxvii. p. 56. Tulpii Obser. Med. lib. ii. cap. 24. p. 133.—(*k*) Memoires sur commerce des Hollandois, chap. iii. Dictionnaire universel de commerce, tom. ii. col. 756. Politike Gron-den en Max. van Holland, p. 27.

on, and almost exceeding the power of imaginations (*l*). The first column detached moves towards the west by the coasts of Newfoundland towards North America (*m*); the eastern column proceeding leisurely by the coasts of Iceland, sends off one division along the coasts of Norway, which soon divides into two; one passing by the strait of the Sound into the Baltic (*n*); the other towards Holstein, Bremen, &c (*o*), the larger and deeper column falls directly upon the isles of Shetland and Orkney; and passing these divides into two, the eastern column moving along that whole side of Britain, detaching gradually smaller shoals to the coasts of Friezland, Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and France (*p*), while the western column passes on the other side of Britain and Ireland (*q*). The remains of this body re-assemble in the channel, and proceeding thence into the ocean, retire to their asylum in the North, where in peace and safety they repair the losses they have sustained, and being grown large and lusty, break out again at the next season, to make the same tour which has been already described (*r*).

It would be a very difficult, and in respect to our purpose, an almost useless undertaking, to endeavour at fixing the time when this fishery commenced (*s*). It is certain, that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was considered as a matter of great importance in this as well as in other nations (*t*). But William Buchold, who, as some affirm, published this in-

(*l*) Natural history of Norway, P. ii. p. 145. Anderson Histoire naturelle de l'Islande, tom. i. p. 107. Atlas maritimus et commercialis, p. 9.—(*m*) History of the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, p. 74. 106. Hackluyt's voyages, tom. ii. p. 153, where the author of Sir H. Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, affirms the herring on that coast to be larger than Norway herring, p. 274. Mr. Hariot (a celebrated mathematician) assures us that in the months of February, March, April, and May, herring are taken on the coasts of Virginia eighteen, twenty, and even twenty-four inches long. British empire in America, vol. i. p. 19. 448.—(*n*) Natural history of Norway, p. ii. p. 145. Ol. Magn. de gentibus septentrionalibus hist. lib. xx. cap. 22. Robert's Merchant's map of commerce, p. 247.—(*o*) The coasts of Jutland, Holstein, and the other countries on the Baltick, lying directly opposite to Schonen, the herring visit them at the same time.—(*p*) Atlas maritimus et commercialis, p. 10. Grimestone's history of the Netherlands, p. 39. Dictionnaire universelle de commerce, tom. ii. col. 758.—(*q*) Camdeni Britan. p. 586. 737. Martin's description of the western isles, p. 249. Ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 245.—(*r*) Ol. Magn. de gent. septentrionalibus hist. lib. xx. cap. 23. Anderson histoire naturelle de l'Islande, tom. i. p. 7—13.—(*s*) The Dutch fix their entering on this fishery on their own coasts to A. D. 1163. In the old chronicle of John Francis le Petit we have a very distinct account of this matter. It is there said, that the inhabitants of Ziriczee, in the isle of Zealand, were the first who barrelled herring; and that afterwards the people of Biervliet found the method of preserving them more effectually, by taking some small bones out of their heads, which operation they call kaken, i. e. gilling or jawing the herring.—(*t*) Mat. Paris hist. Angl. A. D. 1238. p. 471. 31. E. iii. St. 2. A. D. 1357. ch. i. ii. which is called the statute of herrings. Cotton's abridgment, p. 126. 149. 180. 191. 317.

vention; or who, as others say, died at Biervliet, Anno Domini one thousand three hundred and eighty-six, to whose tomb, it is asserted, Charles the fifth and his sister the Queen of Hungary made a visit, in acknowledgment of the services he had done the low countries, invented a new method of curing these fish (*u*), by which his countrymen the Flemings engrossed this lucrative commerce, and to distinguish them, these were stiled Flemish herrings (*w*). Others say, this invention was taught them by an Englishman, one William Belkinson, much later (*x*); but however that matter be, certain it is, that the Flemings were exceedingly enriched by it, till by the revolt of the united provinces, this fishery fell into the hands of the Dutch, who by making many prudent ordinances, in reference to the catching, curing, and exporting herring, fixed this trade in their own hands, and excited thereby the wonder, envy, and jealousy of all their neighbours (*y*).

THERE is however very little doubt to be made, that the profits accruing to the Dutch from this fishery, have been at certain times, though probably without any bad intention, magnified much beyond the truth (*z*). We therefore, in endeavouring to come at something like a calculation, will lay down certain facts from the best authorities, which may serve to shew the progressive state of this fishery, at the same time that it furnishes the means of guessing, with some degree of probability, at its vast value. Sir William Monson, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other writers of those days, men of experience, proper judges, and who had seen with their own eyes what they advanced as facts, assure us, that the Dutch employed in their times, and had long employed, two thousand buxses in the

(*u*) Gottfr. Chron. P. vi. p. 635. This visit of the Emperor was in A. D. 1556. Guiccardin calls him Beukelins, and places his death, A. D. 1397.—(*w*) Ol. Magn. de gentibus septentrionalibus hist. lib. xx. cap. 22.—(*x*) Martin Tydelekursen, who wrote remarks on the Dutch gold mine, a discourse presented to the Dyet of Sweden, A. D. 1748 (to which they are indebted for their herring fishery) positively affirms that William Belkinson taught the Dutch their present method of curing these fish, so late as A. D. 1548; in consequence of which the herring trade at Bahus in Norway (now belonging to the Swedes) gradually declined.—(*y*) Martini Schoockii Belgium Federatum, lib. viii. cap. 2. Meteren. Neder. hist. p. 466. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 518, 519. Maline's lex Mercatoria, p. 169, 170, 171. Sir Walter Raleigh's works, vol. ii. p. 130. Politike Gronden en Max. van. Holland, p. 27. where De Wit, who is the author, though he does not question their calculations, yet in the margin remarks, that through envy they were over-rated. Commerce des Hollandois, p. 43.—(*z*) It will be a sufficient instance of this to mention, that some writers have computed that ten thousand foreign vessels fished annually on the coasts of Great Britain; that in these were employed two hundred thousand seamen; and that the value of the herring, cod, ling, and other fish taken by them, amounts to ten millions sterling. Houghton's collections for the improvement of husbandry and trade, vol. iii. p. 329.

Shetland fishery (*a*). In one thousand six hundred and thirty-three, Mr. Smith, who was sent to Shetland by the earl of Pembroke to look strictly into this affair, and to report the then state of the Dutch fishing, fixes the number of buffes when he was there at fifteen hundred, and the vessels that were besides employed in the cod fishery at four hundred (*b*). It appears from very exact researches made after the restoration, and by different modes of calculation which checked each other (*c*), that it was then to the full as considerable (*d*). But the subsequent wars with England and France bringing great losses on the subjects of the States General, who had embarked their fortunes in this fishery; other nations beginning to interfere with them; and from a variety of causes, which it would be tedious for us to mention, this trade gradually declined (*e*); so that in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, the Dutch had no more than two hundred buffes here; the British herring fishery a very few ships; which, however caught more in proportion, and cured them to the full as well as the Dutch; the Swedes had also some buffes, and there were some likewise from Ostend (*f*); from all which, whatever they might do in former times, the natives drew but very little advantage; and though it be directly contrary to their orders from home, yet the people frequently complain of ill usage from the Dutch buffes, by insulting, and sometimes spoiling their small boats, more especially when they attempt fishing in deep

(*a*) Sir Walter Raleigh, in his observations on trade and commerce addressed to King James, assures him that the Dutch employed three thousand ships to fish annually on our coasts; which occasioned the freighting nine thousand more, and gave subsistence to one hundred and fifty thousand persons. Sir William Monson, from his own experience, fixes on two thousand buffes, and affirms that each acquired one thousand pounds in four months.—(*b*) Smith's England's improvement revived, B. vi. p. 257. confirmed by Sir John Burrough, who published his book same year Smith went to Shetland.—(*c*) By comparing the number of buffes and their cargoes with the duties imposed and paid in Holland, with the accounts of sales in foreign ports, and with the expences and necessary maintenance of the families known to live by this fishery, and the several trades that are requisite for the support of it, and the navigation arising from thence, which are the most satisfactory methods of coming to a certainty in this matter.—(*d*) It appears from the reports of Dr. B. Worsley, secretary to the committee for trade in the reign of King Charles the second, that in his judgment the Dutch herring fishery produced to them annually three millions sterling; which being founded on those computations mentioned in the former note, and looked upon as certain by the best of judges here, may well be considered as a point established, more especially as it might be supported by many concurrent proofs.—(*e*) The Dutch themselves ascribe this to the declension of markets, especially the French; to the Swedes and Norwegians entering on this fishery; and to the other nations of Europe having found the secret of curing these fish in as great perfection as themselves. We may therefore regard it as a fact out of doubt, that the consumption of pickled herrings is as great as ever, though the trade is divided, and the profits rendered thereby less apparent.—(*f*) MS. Relation of the isles of Shetland.

water (*g*). But however, in regard to the subjects of that republic, the herring fishery may be at present decayed, it would be no difficult thing to prove, to the satisfaction of the candid as well as critical enquirer, that while it continued to flourish in their hands, the Dutch drew from their fishery out of the ocean washing the coasts of these islands, to the amount of TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS sterling (*h*). A circumstance that may surely in some degree entitle the Shetland isles to the notice of Great Britain (*i*)!

IN respect to the inhabitants, they are a stout, well-made, comely people, the lower sort of a swarthy complexion (*k*). The gentry are allowed by all who have conversed with them, to be most of them polite, shrewd, sensible, lively, active, and intelligent persons; and these to the number of about one hundred families, have very handsome, strong, well-built houses, neatly furnished, their tables well served, polished in their manners, and exceedingly hospitable and civil to strangers (*l*). Those of an inferior rank are a hardy, robust, and laborious people, who, generally speaking, get their bread by fishing in all weathers (*m*) in their yawls, which are little bigger than Gravesend wherries, live hardily, and in the summer season mostly on fish; their drink which in reference to the British dominions is peculiar to the country is called *Bland*, and is a

(*g*) This has been long and loudly matter of complaint, and has and will restrain the poor natives (till supported) from undertaking this fishery on their own account.—(*h*) Emanuel van Meteren, and other Netherland historians, boast of the prodigious profit of this fishery, and the multitudes employed therein during the century preceding the last; and as we have shewn, it continued increasing till after the restoration. Let us then suppose (what indeed we have proved) that for one hundred years they annually sent two thousand buffes, and that each gained one thousand pounds, and it establishes this calculation. To dispel all doubts, we give up whatever was made before, or have been made since, and rest upon what is supported by the fullest evidence given by the best informed of their writers as well as ours.—(*i*) It is a very sensible and shrewd, not to say a stinging remark made by Camden, Britan. p. 586. “*Veniam enim piscandi semper concesserunt Angli, honore sibi reservato, utilitate vero exteris quasi, per desidiam resignata.*” “The liberty of fishing the English have always allowed, reserving the honour to themselves; the profit through indolence they have resigned to foreigners.” Schoockius very fairly quotes this observation, as the charter by which his countrymen enjoy their fishery. But it seems to be now high time to correct this error, and to encourage the inhabitants of all parts of Great Britain to exert their industry to the utmost for the common benefit.—(*k*) Sibbald, p. 4. MS. Relation of the isles of Shetland.—(*l*) Captain Preston, who was there about twenty years ago, says, “The people are generally civil, sagacious, of ready wit, and of a quick apprehension, piously inclined, much given to hospitality, civil and liberal in their entertainments, and exceedingly kind to strangers, which I may say indeed from experience; for I never met with more civility in any part of the world.”—(*m*) Smith’s England’s improvements revived, p. 254, 255. Sibbald, p. 40. Captain Preston’s account, which shews that a whole century has elapsed without making any great alteration.

sort of butter milk, long kept, and very sour (*n*). Many live to great ages, though not so long as in former times. In respect however to the bulk of the inhabitants, from the poorness of living, from the nature of it, and from the drinking great quantities of corn spirits of the very worst sort, multitudes are afflicted with an inveterate scurvy (*o*), from which those in better circumstances are entirely free, and enjoy as good health as in any other country in Europe. As they have no great turn to agriculture, and are persuaded that their country is not fit for it, they do not (though probably they might) raise corn enough to subsist them for more than two thirds of the year (*p*). But they are much more successful in their pasture grounds, which are kept well inclosed, in good order, and together with their commons, supply them plentifully with beef and mutton. They pay their rents generally in butter at Lammas, and in money at Martinmas. As to manufactures, they make a strong coarse cloth for their own use (*q*), as also linnen. They make likewise of their own wool very fine stockings. They export salted and dried ling, cod, and tusk, some herrings, a considerable quantity of butter and train-oil, otter and seal skins, and no inconsiderable quantity of the fine stockings before mentioned. Their chief trade is to Leith, London, Hamburgh, Spain, and to the Streights. They import timbers, deals, and some of their best boats from Norway; corn and flour from the Orkneys, and from North Britain; spirits and some other things from Hamburgh; cloaths and better sort of linnen from Leith; grocery, household furniture, and other necessaries from London (*r*). The superior duties to the earl of Morton are generally lett in farm, and are paid by the people in butter, oil, and money. The remains of the old Norwegian constitution are still visible in the division of their lands; and they have

(*n*) This is an Islandic word, from whence we have *blend* in our language, which signifies to mingle. This therefore is a proper name for a liquor, which from its sharpness is seldom drank alone, but mixed with water. Sibbald, p. 21, 22. It is the same with what the people of Norway and Iceland call Syre, made by boiling the thin part of butter-milk, and keeping it in casks; it has the colour of white-wine, and they sometimes use it as pickle for fish or flesh.—(*o*) Sibbald, p. 25. Martin, p. 373. Wholesome diet, cleanliness, and less use of spirits would quickly mitigate, and in time root out this dreadful malady.—(*p*) This was the case in Norway, till about a century ago, when they set about agriculture in earnest and with success. Pontopp. p. 79—108.—(*q*) This cloth as now made, is strong and warm, so as to answer all the purposes of the common people. They formerly made that kind (Sibbald, p. 5.) which is called Vadmell or Wadmell, which is still made under the same appellation in Norway and in Iceland. See Pontopp. p. 273, 274. Horrebow p. 124. and has a singular method of thickening it, by exposing it at the entrance of a creek to the flux and reflux of the sea.—(*r*) It is evident therefore, that by mending their circumstances, and enabling the bulk of the people to live better, and more comfortably, which can only be done by encouraging and protecting their fishery, the far greatest part of the profits arising from thence would come immediately to Great Britain, as the little they do get does already.

some udalmen or freeholders amongst them (*s*). But the Scots laws, customs, manners, dress, and language prevail; and they have a sheriff, magistrates for the administration of justice, as well as a custom-house with a proper number of officers. In reference to their ecclesiastical concerns, they have a presbytery, twelve ministers, and an itinerant for Foula, Fair Island, and the Skerries. Each of these ministers hath a stipend of between forty and fifty pounds, besides a house and a glebe free from taxes. The number of souls, in these islands may be about twenty thousand (*t*).

It is pretty evident, that if Britain had been as attentive to her interests as the Dutch, she might have drawn from the possession of the Shetland isles no small share of wealth to herself; in consequence of which, the inhabitants must have been in a much better state than they are. The business now is to look forward, and to consider past mistakes as proper admonitions. There is no doubt, that they may be still made profitable by proper means, and a constant attention. A great part of the lands, at least a considerable proportion of them, that now, and perhaps without encouragement may for ever continue useless, might be brought into cultivation, if distributed amongst industrious families, at very easy, and till in some degrees improved, at no rents (*u*). This would give such as were settled on them a property, instil thereby a deep-rooted affection and strong attachment to their country, and furnish a part of their subsistence. To facilitate their fishery, which must ever furnish the rest, magazines should be erected to supply them with all things requisite for that employment, without respect of persons, at equal, and at the lowest rates; and means must be likewise found to enable them gradually to procure larger boats, buffes, and other vessels, so as to put it in their power to catch, cure, and export their herrings and other fish in their own bottoms, towards which nothing would contribute more than to send a frigate annually to protect them from the encroachments and insults of foreigners (*w*). The lesser isles should be also improved, by erecting salt works in some, by establishing the manufacture of nets in others, by

(*s*) It is said, and probably with truth, that gavelkind was a part of this their ancient policy; and if so, it very well accounts for the country being better peopled.—(*t*) Blaeu, p. 149. Sibbald, p. 9—12. MS. account of the Isles of Shetland.—(*u*) Whatever expence this might require, would be compensated by creating a settled and unalterable tenure, establishing these farms in separate families, so as not to be engrossed and lett out upon a rack-rent, but to remain for ever in the hands of real proprietors, residing upon, and having their support from their constant cultivation and improvements.—(*w*) On board this frigate might be sent an inspector, who should report at his return, the true state of the lands, fisheries, bounties, customs, excise, &c. by which any frauds, embezzlements, or misapplications, would be immediately detected, and the public receive a distinct account of the progress of their improvements every year. This report should be published in the Gazette, as well as laid before the boards of trade and treasury, and the House of Commons.

supplying the necessary materials and conveniencies for building stout boats, and making casks in the larger islands. Kelp might be certainly made even on the holms and skerries; and having that and train-oil, would lead them to the making coarse glass and soap, which would vary and increase their cargoes (x). Two or three companies of invalids properly chosen and employed as garrisons, would prove an easy and effectual method to teach the natives many little manual arts, and a variety of useful trades, of which they are at present ignorant, and by which industry would spread in consequence of its being apparently, certainly, and speedily rewarded. As the people come to live better, and to bring home cargoes in return for their fish and other commodities, customs and excise would quickly repay the public for the encouragements proposed; and if this was not sufficient, they might be obliged to furnish a certain supply of seamen to the royal navy in time of war, which they would be very far from considering as a hardship; and it might be, as has been suggested on a former occasion, a point of policy, to see these sailors, when they were no longer necessary brought back to their own homes, where the lights they must obtain from experience would be of no small use.

If we had not studied brevity as much as possible, it might have afforded the judicious reader some entertainment, if from a variety of instances we had shewn the great conformity of the original, civil, and political constitutions in these, in the Western Islands, in Man, and in those isles that still remain to us as appendages of the Dutchy of Normandy; which last mentioned islands, as they are in respect to their polity the least altered, are at this day by far the most flourishing, and the most populous (y). This sufficiently shews, and indeed to a demonstration proves, how well that old, free, and equitable constitution, which was nearly the same through them all, was calculated to render the people easy, active, industrious, and attached to their native soil, in consequence of their deriving with certainty and security from the produce of their labour all that they could reasonably either want or wish.

If the prospect of these islands seems to occupy a large space in this volume, it may be some apology to say, that their having been hitherto very indifferently, indeed hardly known,

(x) There is certainly nothing impracticable, much less impossible, in carrying all that is proposed into execution. If any doubt could arise, it might be silenced, by inquiring into what in this kind has been done for the inhabitants of Iseland during the course of his present Danish Majesty's reign.—(y) In respect to size, Guernsey and the isles dependent upon it are about one twentieth of Shetland; but the number of people is nearly the same, and consequently the former is twenty times as populous as the latter. But if Shetland was in all circumstances put on a level with Guernsey, there is no doubt its fisheries and commerce might in the space of half a century, render it half as well peopled, and add thereby two hundred thousand subjects to Great Britain.

and consequently little attended to, not only recommended them to, but required for them a larger consideration in a *POLITICAL SURVEY*; and if still more is necessary to be said, let me have permission to observe, that the present state and circumstances of this country made it at this time still more peculiarly requisite. For the British dominions being now grown not only to an empire, but to a most extensive empire, there seems to be nothing of so great importance towards supporting its splendor and authority, as strengthening the center and seat of government; towards which, it can be esteemed no trivial supply, if by connecting more closely to us these islands, we may have the use and assistance of so many thousands of active and able men, equally capable of being employed at land or on sea, and who, from the situation of the countries they inhabit, may be at any time employed to the most useful purposes with the greatest facility. These islands are our own, we have not only an indisputed title, but an uninterrupted possession, so that we need not go to seek or to discover them; but barely to examine their utility, and by what means and methods we may avail ourselves of them and their inhabitants to the utmost; and as has been often touched already, it ought to be no bar to such inquiry, that in their present state they seem to be almost useless; for if we call to mind the ancient condition of Cornwall, of several of the northern counties of England, and the best part of Ireland, and compare them with what we now see to be the produce of these countries, and of which they were always capable; we can entertain no doubt that, by a like application of skill and assistance, the like effects may follow even here. Some difficulties will very probably occur, but they will be far from being great; for we need not either forces or fleets, we need not depopulate the happy regions of South Britain to plant these. They are for our purpose sufficiently peopled already; and if those who now inhabit them had the power of providing for their posterity, they would quickly become in proportion to their extent, as populous as any other province that we have.

THE people who are at present in them are our subjects, and as well affected as any subjects can be, which affords them a just claim to our protection and assistance. That they have not either wealth or rich commodities to attract notice is alike their misfortune and ours. But if, even in this state, they should be so fortunate as to draw the attention of government, there is no room at all to doubt, they would in a very short space emerge from this unhappy situation, to the common benefit of themselves and of the mother country. In respect to religion, the far greatest part of them are sincere and zealous Protestants, and the rest may be easily made so. The better sort every where speak the English language, and there are none amongst them who have not an ambition to learn it;

nor

nor are they less desirous of feeling the benefit of our laws, and of participating in the effects of that admirable constitution, which secures to men where-ever it reaches, the most prosperous state of rational liberty. Their old prejudices, which in giving their history we have fairly represented, are long ago extinguished, their ill habits are entirely worn out, they are exceedingly sensible of their own misfortunes, clearly discern the causes of them, and would not only submit to, but eagerly welcome and embrace any new establishment by which they might be removed. As they must recover, if ever they recover, by the favour and kindness of Great Britain, so in consequence of this recovery, they must be always and intirely dependent upon her. The benefits they receive, will, and of necessity must be in proportion to the strictness of their connection; and, in consequence of their utility, and from their size, situation, and circumstances, it is simply impossible, that their interest and happiness can have any other basis than the countenance and protection of Britain. In virtue of this, they may, by a proper division of what is now useless property, come to have all their lands cultivated that are capable of culture, and these will be then found of much greater extent than can be conceived even by themselves at present; and, in conjunction with their ample fisheries, would furnish a comfortable subsistence to the present possessors, and, however numerous they may prove, to their posterity. If the certainty of this could admit of any doubt it might be removed, by considering attentively the number of ships of all nations, which by annually fishing upon their coasts extract that wealth which might be acquired by them with much more ease. If the permanence of their prosperity should be questioned, let us recollect, that if once they were in possession of the fishing, curing, and exporting those inexhaustible stores that are daily within their reach, they would be able to do this at so cheap a rate, that, while under the protection of the mother country, no foreign nation could ever interfere with them more, as their numbers, and the capacity of managing their fisheries, would encrease every day.

YET as fact is stronger than any arguments, and more conclusive than the finest reasoning, I shall close with observing, that we may safely and certainly conclude all this may be done, if it can be shewn that it has been done already. I will therefore undertake to prove, that an island in no better climate, with no richer soil, and possessing only some of those advantages which belong to these, rose to a much higher degree, not barely in point of numbers and substance, but by becoming in process of time, and the convenience of its situation, a seat of commerce, and in consequence of that, of a city of power, of splendor, and magnificence beyond any thing the most sanguine imagination would tempt a man to promise in
favour

favour of these British Isles; which instance was particularly reserved for this place, where I cannot but hope it will appear in a proper light, and of course have its proper weight.

THIS island is **GOTHLAND**, **GOTLAND**, or as the natives themselves stile it **GULLAND**, situated between the fifty-seventh and the fifty-eighth degree of north latitude, in the midst of the Baltic, having that sea on the north and south, the continent of Sweden on the west, and the countries of Livonia and Courland to the east. It is about sixty English miles in length and twenty in breadth, rather larger than the island of Sky; but containing less land than Pomona and the rest of the Shetland Isles. It is mountainous, but with various tracts of very good land, fertile in pasture and in grain, abounding in timber, plentifully watered, having great variety of land and sea fowl, with abundance of fine fish in its rivers, and in the sea, which washes its coasts, with several good harbours, and near twenty small islands lying round it. It was sometimes an independant kingdom, sometimes it belonged to the Swedes, at others to the Danes, though now it belongs to the former, is divided into many districts, and has about one hundred parishes.

WISBY or **WISBUY** was the capital, or rather an independant city, on the west side of this isle, seated on a rocky mountain, sloping towards the sea, with a very fine port protected by a strong castle. This place arose on the ruins of *Wineta* and *Julinum*, and upon their decline became the most celebrated **EMPORIUM** in the north, flourishing in great state and splendor, from the latter end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth till towards the fourteenth century. It was a very fair, rich, and opulent city, well fortified, had in it ten churches, four monasteries, and when in the zenith of its glory, from ten to twelve thousand burghers, exclusive of as many foreign merchants; being a kind of free port, frequented by the Swedes, Danes, Saxons, Russians, English, Scots, and other nations, with many Jews residing therein. Its magnificence was so great, that the gates and many of the public buildings were of marble, the frames of the windows gilt, which facts as history records, so the stately ruins thereof attest to this day. It was famous for a body of **SEA LAWS**, the authority of which prevailed through almost all the commercial states of Europe, and which make the basis of that **CODE** adopted by the Hans Towns. It was likewise famous for the first invention of **SEA CHARTS**; the seamen of this island being thought more expert than any others in the northern part of Europe, and the citizens enjoyed large privileges, not only in the dominions of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, but also

also in Russia, Pomerania, and the Empire, in virtue of charters that are still preserved (z).

THESE accounts, to the truth of which all the northern historians unanimously testify, afford incontestible evidence of what a country seated in the same latitude with our Long Island was capable in these very early times; which, however, were but little earlier than the conquest of the Orkney and Shetland isles by the Norwegians. We may also observe, that these relations reflect great light, and strengthen not a little the probability of the histories already given of our northern isles, which no doubt might have been rendered much more compleat, if any care had been taken to preserve either the civil or ecclesiastical records, which were once extant in the Orkneys, and of which we have already given an account of the single fragment perhaps that is still remaining. If it should be objected, that Gothland remains at this day much better cultivated and better peopled than any of our isles, and may be from thence presumed to be a better country; the answer is very easy: Gothland in respect to its mother country of Sweden is a southern province, and in that respect is comparatively much superior to most of the other provinces in that kingdom; whereas our isles lie to the north and west of the northern, most remote and least cultivated extremity of Great Britain, which very plainly shews why the one is in so much better condition at present than the other. If it should be said that these are all stories of a very ancient date, and that Wisbuy very probably decayed in consequence of the loss of its trade, even this will appear to be very little to the purpose; for Wisbuy acquired its trade by the decline of two great marts in Pomerania, one of which, like our old Winchelsea, was swallowed up by the sea, and lost it by the revolutions in the northern kingdoms, after a possession of many centuries. But the commerce which was first settled in Pomerania, and removed from thence to Wisbuy, is not yet lost; but is again transferred to the continent, and shared amongst the cities of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburgh; with which cities our isles have always had, and if in better circumstances would cer-

(z) Ol. Magn. Hist. Septen. Gent. lib. ii. cap. 22. xvii. cap. 1. Pontanire-rum Danicar. Hist. p. 490. 539. 541. 733. Gothofred. de imperio maris, cap. 8. Wagenfeil Synop. Geograph. p. 492. Zeyler Descrip. Succiz, p. 164. Conring. de orig. Jur. gent. cap. 19. Olear. Itin. lib. ii. cap. 3. L'Isle piu famose dal Mondo descritte da Thomaso Procacchi, p. 9. D'Audiffret Histoire et Geographie ancienne et moderne, p. 364, 365. Treatise of the dominion of the sea, with a complete collection of sea laws, p. 174, 175. Cutler's Coasting Pilot, p. 43, 44. All these authorities are cited (1) to authenticate the fact, (2) to shew its notoriety, (3) that every reader may have it in his power to consult some or other of them.

tainly have, a much more considerable commerce *. If therefore the British government, now in the zenith of commercial splendor, will at length contemplate the many certain and obvious advantages that might be derived from the situation of our numerous isles, the profits that have been and are still made of the fisheries on their coasts, though not by their inhabitants, their vicinity, if those fisheries were put in their power, to all markets, and the facility of their correspondence with North America, the West and even with the East Indies, with how great ease, and at how small an expence all these branches of trade might be obtained and secured to their inhabitants, and what mighty and what certain benefits would from thence result to every part of the dominions of their protectrix and mother country, this chapter will most certainly have its effect, and the consequences will furnish ample materials for much another kind of chapter in some future POLITICAL SURVEY of GREAT BRITAIN !

* Since this section was finished the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton hath disposed of his interests, under the several grants and act of Parliament before mentioned, to Sir Lawrence Dundas, Baronet, who is become thereby the present possessor of the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

SECTION IX.

A retrospective View of the Contents, in order to shew the Connection of the several Subjects treated in this Book.

THE end proposed by a Political Survey is to demonstrate the real worth and value of any country. The principles on which the great empires erected in ancient times were founded set in a just light. The favourable position of any country, a thing of the utmost importance to the felicity of its inhabitants. A succinct view of the reasons on which the preference of an insular situation is founded. The general description of Britain representing its distinguishing excellencies. The numerous and important uses derived from the great plenty and happy distribution of water throughout all the British isles. The number, beauty, and convenient ports at the mouths of navigable rivers, a singular circumstance in our favour. Innumerable benefits arising from the particular form and vast extent of our coasts. The midland provinces of the British Isles contain a very large tract of country. This country full of fine meadows, arable lands, or mountains rich in metals, capable of supporting some millions more

more than their present. Many advantages that may be derived from the lesser islands dependant upon Great Britain. The farther explanation of several of these points reserved to the succeeding books.

THE principal end of a Political Survey of any country, is to point out its capacity, under the regulation of a wise policy, to render the inhabitants thereof independant, potent, and happy (*a*). In regard to a matter of this importance, more especially in an age so enlightened as this, assertions are not regarded as arguments; and even arguments, however specious or plausible, if unsupported by facts, are not looked upon as conclusive. As far as rhetoric, panegyric, and all the powers of eloquence could reach, BRITAIN, as we have more than once had occasion to shew, has been as highly celebrated as any country could be (*b*). But how much soever such pieces may please, they seldom carry in them any great degree of information, and will by no means furnish any satisfactory answers to objections. In order to accomplish this, it is requisite to pursue another method, to go to the bottom of things, to enter, and even to enter minutely, into particulars, and by thus proceeding step by step, to render whatever is affirmed as clear and as certain as possible (*c*). It must be allowed that this as well as other countries hath been subject to very great vicissitudes, and to frequent revolutions; in consequence of which, not only the condition of the inhabitants, but the very face and appearance of the country itself, hath been in different periods greatly altered, which in such a survey ought to be remarked and explained (*d*). Many of its natural advantages were at all times too obvious not to be discerned; and yet some of these have never been improved, while others again, passing wholly unnoticed, have been of course totally neglected. But within these two last centuries, since the reformation produced the revival of useful science, the eyes of men have been in a great measure opened; and in

(*a*) What it is possible or impossible for a nation to execute can never be so well known as from a just survey of the country they inhabit.—(*b*) Besides the antient panegyrics addressed to the family of Constantine the Great, of which there are large extracts in Camden and Speed, the succinct accounts at the beginning of Beda, and all our ancient chronicles, the reader may consult William Harrison's description of Britain, London 1577, folio. Thomas Gainsford's glory of England, London, 1618, 4to. A discourse of the national excellencies of England, by R. Hawkins, London, 1658, 8vo.—(*c*) By this manner of treating it, the judicious reader will make himself fully master of the subject in all its parts, and will gradually from his own reflections, and consulting the authorities, derive lights superior to any I am able to give him, who assume no greater merit than to have laboured very long and very assiduously to collect and arrange things as well as I am able.—(*d*) It is as certain as any thing can be that the Romans left a great part of this country highly improved, which in the succeeding irruptions of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, were utterly destroyed. The Danes overturned and ruined the whole island at different though not far distant times; and the Normans were by no means assiduous, as the Saxons had been, to recover and restore the regions they subdued..

consequence

consequence of this, much more has been done within that period than in many ages before (*e*). These improvements, how great soever, ought only to be considered as so many laudable models, calculated to excite a still stronger principle of public spirit and emulation; as there still remain various of our native prerogatives unexerted, several great resources unexplored, and not a few means yet untried; by which even greater things than have been yet done, might be still effected in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, by prosecuting the aptitude this country has for almost every possible species of improvement, and thereby rendering it the noble and respectable center of as extensive, flourishing, and well-governed an empire, as any on which, since launched from the hand of the Creator, the sun has ever shone.

As a basis for such a superstructure, we hazarded some political sketches of the great empires in antiquity, and shewed from facts that such stupendous edifices might be erected; and descending from these to countries which, both in time and situation, were less remote, we made it equally evident, that these powers of construction were not confined to any quarter of the globe, or at all restrained to the particular circumstances of soil or climate (*f*). But that wisdom and industry, prudence and perseverance, were engines capable of overcoming almost any obstacle, and removing every defect, and even in some cases of converting apparent defects into real advantages (*g*). We also ventured to draw the veil a little, and to render it manifest, that these amazing effects were not performed by those mysterious and refined arts which have usurped the name of policy in modern ages; but by simple and solid maxims, inspired by genius, approved by reason, and confirmed by experience. From these sprang a system of rule, founded on a few well weighed principles, suited to the genius and circumstances of the people, and invariably tending to the public good. Institutions, plain, succinct, and agreeable to the natural notions that all men have of justice; by which a sense of shame was made as much as possible to serve instead of punishment. Idleness was proscribed as the infamous mother of vices; benevolence considered as the visible image of virtue; and industry respected as the parent of independency; which, by affording a comfortable support to private families, maintained order, vigour, harmony, and of course the welfare and

(*e*) The reader will find this very important point very largely explained, and it is hoped clearly proved, in some of the first chapters of the next book—(*f*) Thus China and Phœnicia are instances in Asia; Egypt and Carthage in Africa; Venice, Portugal, and the United Provinces, in Europe; and the empires of Peru and Mexico, in America.—(*g*) As in Genoa, Switzerland, and Holland, where skill, labour, and frugality supply the want of fertility, and the inhabitants, amidst rocks, mountains, and marshes, enjoy a plenty which excites the admiration, at the same time that it provokes the envy of their respective neighbours.

stability of the state. In a word, the constitution prescribing their duty to magistrates, the laws controuling the actions of individuals, and the manners diffused from those, either honoured with titles, or trusted with power, conveyed a spirit of obedience through all ranks, from a consciousness that, in pursuing the public weal, they took the best and surest method of pursuing their private interests (*h*). By the operations of these systems vast countries became full of people, lodged in cities, towns, and villages; while to furnish these with subsistence, their lands of every kind grew by continual cultivation to look like gardens; but when these were overborne by violence, or undermined by corruption, those lands followed the fate of their inhabitants; and as they relapsed into a state of nature, or, which is little better, into a state of servitude, those likewise became, in comparison of what they were, so many wildernesses deformed with ruins (*i*).

THIS foundation thus laid, we speak in the next place of the benefits that result from situation; which, if commodious, is one of the highest advantages any country can enjoy; and if this be wanting, that single defect proves an obstacle, of all others the hardest to be overcome, and is indeed almost the only one which experience has shewn in some cases to be insurmountable (*k*). In the ordinary occurrences of life we have daily instances of this. It is the thing first to be considered in laying out of grounds and gardens, and if not then duly attended to, labour and expence are thereby greatly increased, and it may be, after all, are thrown away. In villages, towns, and even cities, the case is the same. Their beauty, their success, and their duration depends upon it. It is from the assistance of situation that fortresses become impregnable; that they are often weak and quickly reduced, arises generally from some defect therein (*l*). In countries, philoso-

(*h*) By proceeding in this method, we have endeavoured to avoid dictating, and have only presented the mirror of political experience, to shew the constant connection between causes and events; and to prove that almost the only secret in government consists in directing the passions and propensities of men to right ends, by which they contribute reciprocally to each other's support, and in their respective spheres, promote public grandeur, by being intent on private felicity.—(*i*) This is the present state, of Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Syria, and many regions that make a shining figure in ancient history.—(*k*) This, as we have shewn, is the case of the Tatars or Tartars, a numerous, and by no means a stupid people, who roam continually through the deserts. In the two great empires of India and China they have embraced the advantages of situation those countries afforded; in order to which they have quitted their ancient customs, and adopted the manners of the former inhabitants, now become their subjects.—(*l*) It sometimes happens that a superior genius removes or supplies such a defect, by reconciling art with nature, and so suiting his works to the site of the place, as to make a respectable fortress of what had been before but a miserable post. Situation is of no less consequence in regard to camps; and some Generals (particularly M. Turenne) have owed no small part of their reputation to their superior skill in this respect.

phers and politicians have observed, that their situation, generally speaking, gives a bias to the minds of the inhabitants, which if not immediately taken, their struggles to thrive are in vain till they do (*m*). Accidents may, and often do remove other impediments, so that a nation, which remained obscure for ages, breaks suddenly and surprizingly out into light and lustre. But to the people living in a country defective in this respect, no such chance can avail, unless by some lucky revolution it is joined to another region, and comes that way to participate of a more favourable position (*n*); which exception, instead of weakening, adds strength to the maxim we have laid down. We have had reason therefore, when enquiring into the usual sources of political grandeur, to lay a great stress on situation, as a blessing properly speaking, derived only from nature, and in many respects the most lasting and the most valuable blessing that even nature herself can bestow (*o*).

THE magnitude and importance of this blessing implies that it must have many different degrees, and of these we have given several instances. From the lights derived from them we proceed to the supreme degree of excellence, which we assert to be in an insular situation, as containing compleatly all the advantages that can accrue to any country merely from its position; which advantages, to sum them up in as succinct a manner as we may, are principally these: In the first place, many benefits are derived to the inhabitants of an island from its unity. The very largest country on a continent is still but a part, which implies dependance, and is necessarily

(*m*) In order to conceive this clearly, we need only refer to the history of the Low Countries before the time of Baldwin of Flanders, who about A. D. 960, invented marts and fairs at stated times, which giving vent to their fabrics, shewed his subjects their true interests, and gave them a turn to agriculture and to manufactures, which suiting exactly the situation of their country, raised them speedily to the very summit of prosperity. To what did the Dutch owe the many millions they acquired by the herring fishery?—By their making the best use possible of an indifferent situation. Why did the people of Shetland never avail themselves of the best situation that could be for this fishery?—Because the narrowness of their circumstances put it out of their power.—(*n*) The commerce opened by the port of Archangel first made the Russians known in Europe. The conquest made by Peter the Great of Ingermania and Livonia, and his building St. Petersburg, raised him from Grand Duke of Muscovy, and a very inconsiderable prince, to be emperor of all the Russias, and one of the most respectable powers in Christendom. His successors by attending to situation may do much more.—(*o*) Situation, as it conducts to prosperity, so it wonderfully resists ruin.—Egypt from an empire is dwindled into a province; but Alexandria, now Scandarea, is still a port, and was much more considerable than it is till a passage was discovered by the Cape of Good Hope to the Indies. The Arabs inhabiting Arabia Felix have bent their manners to the state of their country, and have many well frequented ports; amongst others, Muskat, the inhabitants of which are esteemed for civility, temperance, probity, and being as fair traders as any upon earth. Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, by dint of situation only, retained part of the trade of the Hans Towns, famous for having once engrossed most of the commerce of Europe.

attended

attended with a train of imperfections; from all which, by the unerring and unalterable laws of Nature, the people who live in an island are or may be entirely free (*p*). In the next place, the climate is generally mild and salubrious from the vapours of the surrounding sea, which according to the latitude abates the violence of heat, and moderates the rigour of cold, both which are sensibly and constantly less than on continents under the same elevation of the pole (*q*). There is also commonly a greater variety, and almost always a greater fertility in the soil, occasioned chiefly by the warmth of the circumambient air, frequent showers, and, in consequence of both, being continually impregnated with vegetable salts (*r*). Another considerable advantage arises from its accessibility on every side, by which it is open to receive supplies from other countries, and has the conveniency of exporting its commodities and manufactures to all markets, and in comparison of the continent at all seasons (*s*). An island has at once the most extensive and the most effectual frontier, and this on all sides subsisting for ever without repairs, and without expence; and which is still more, derives from this very frontier a great part of the subsistence of its inhabitants, and a valuable article in its commerce from its fisheries (*t*). The defence of this natural barrier, which, as we have said, costs nothing; but on the contrary yields much, is not only permanent, but in every respect more to be relied on than any that could be raised by

(*p*) All countries on the continent are exposed to continual dangers, against which their inhabitants must be perpetually upon their guard. This renders a large military force requisite. It involves them in continual negotiations, leagues, and alliances, all of which, however, cannot exempt them from frequent wars, or the miseries that attend them, and which have commonly bad effects on their internal policy.—(*q*) We have a remarkable instance of this, in the islands called anciently Stœchades, in the modern Latin *Insulæ Aræarum*, by us the islands of Hieres. They are three in number, lying in 43°. N. L. before the port of Toulon. In them the fruits of France and Italy arrive at the highest perfection, and all the medicinal herbs of Italy, Greece, and Egypt grow wild. Yet the climate is wonderfully temperate and pleasant in all seasons.—(*r*) We have proofs of this at our own doors, in the islands of Wight and Anglesea, as the reader has already seen in their respective descriptions.—(*s*) The opposite sides of an island may in regard to commerce be considered as two countries, each has its ports, its proper commodities, its proper correspondencies; in consequence of which, it promotes the cultivation, and procures vent for the manufactures of a large district behind it; while the intermediate midland space finds a profit in that inland trade, which these two districts supply. The winds contrary on one side are favourable on the other; and the sea, the common road to both coasts, is continually ploughed by vessels outward and homeward bound, which keeps up that active and enterprising spirit which characterizes islanders.—(*t*) It is commonly said the sea is a mine, but in truth it is better; its treasures are more lasting and more certain, procured by labour solely, and fit for use or for sale as soon as procured, quickly consumed, and thereby the source of continual employment to a stout, hardy, laborious race of men, who likewise find employment for numbers, and are in various respects otherwise beneficial members of the community.

the skill and industry of men at the greatest expence (*u*). All these blessings and benefits are insured by the lesson that Nature dictates; some would say, the law which she prescribes to the inhabitants of every island, to place all their hopes in the assiduous cultivation of their own country, to bend all their endeavours to raising and extending their commerce, and to put their trust in Providence, and in the safeguard which she directs; men accustomed to robust and hardy exercises, and in what necessarily arises from their way of life, a naval force (*w*). In support of these positions we have brought the fullest evidence of facts, manifested in a variety of instances taken from every quarter of the globe; so that the reader may see that this doctrine is equally supported by reason, and justified by experience.

THESE preliminaries thus settled, we go on next to the general description of Great Britain and the islands belonging thereto; which afforded a fair opportunity of shewing, that all the benefits connected with an insular situation were in the utmost perfection to be found therein (*x*). In point of size naturally formed to be the seat of empire, as having sufficient room for the commodious habitation, plentiful subsistence, and the means of furnishing ample employment to a potent and populous nation (*y*). So happily disposed as to be the commercial center of the old world and the new. So extended as to participate of several climates, none of them sultry through heat, or subject to the inclemency of cold (*z*). Blessed with a surprizing variety of soils, many happily cultivated, and all of them capable of innumerable improvements. Abounding already with many of the most valuable commodities, and by the extension of science and application continually and considerably increasing these. Inhabited by a people confessedly endowed with the most desirable accomplishments in body and in mind, having a like turn to industry and ingenuity; distinguished by their expertness both in arts and arms, and applying themselves with equal facility and success to literature, to ma-

(*u*) This frontier requires no garrison, fleets are manned from Merchantmen, and sailors are a kind of Militia paid no longer than in actual service.—(*w*) The first inhabitants come in vessels, are for a time dependent on the country from whence they came, arrive at independance by enlarging their correspondence; and thus commerce is natural and essential to the people of an island, which is the reason that they thrive so long as they possess it, and gradually decline in the same proportion in which that decays.—(*x*) The reader may run over the foregoing summary, and will feel the truth of this assertion, by applying the several heads of it to Great Britain.—(*y*) This in a variety of instances has been already shewn, and will be further and more largely explained in the succeeding part of this work.—(*z*) This likewise has been proved in the last chapter, and indeed can hardly be disputed, when we consider how many great countries lie farther north than any of the British isles.

nufactures,

nufactures, and to commerce (a). Both parts of the island, together with her sister isle, united under one government, and having in a political light but one interest. Circumstances of such consequence as to take away all old defects, and to establish an uniform system of policy that renders their inhabitants in effect but one people. Great in respect to fame from their exploits in times preceding this connection, which shewed what in their separate state each was able to perform; and since thus fortunately combined, evidently capable of maintaining their own rights by sea and land. Ambitious not of subduing others, but of protecting them, and ever ready in yielding assistance, even to their remote allies, as well as to their neighbours, by whose oppression their own safety might be endangered; which particulars have been all of them evinced by facts; and those facts not only supported from the testimony of our own, but by the authorities also of the most authentic amongst foreign historians, who, as the most impartial and most disinterested, are the least to be suspected, and are of course the most credible witnesses.

INDEPENDANT of those which flow from their situation, the British isles enjoy many other advantages, in a degree equal to any, and superior to most countries. In the copious supply, and in the happy distribution of water particularly, that indispensable necessary to, and that capital convenience of, human life. We have entered very fully into this matter, because notwithstanding its incontestable importance, it is commonly too little considered, and from thence, generally speaking, too little understood (b). We have shewn, that living springs, chrystal brooks, and pleasant rivulets adorn all parts of the British dominions, contributing alike to the purity of the air, the fertility of the soil, and that lively verdure in our fields for which this country is so justly admired, and which is a natural and pleasing expression of the mildness and wholesomeness of the climate (c). In reference to springs having singular and extraordinary qualities, as far as the reality of these could be ascertained by credible evidence, it has been proved that we have the like in some part or other of our own islands. If therefore any discovery should be made elsewhere, in respect

(a) However like this may be to panegyric, every tittle of it is exactly true; and to dissemble truth when it does honour to one's country, would be false modesty, and answer no end.—(b) It is well observed by the judicious Boerhaave, that because few things are more common than water, therefore men generally think none can be better known; whereas it is one of the most difficult subjects in natural philosophy to be well acquainted with. This is the true reason why many uses to which it might be employed are very imperfectly distinguished.—(c) Reason and experience concur in attributing the corruption of air to stagnant, and its purity to plenty of running water. Cardan in his commentary on an excellent treatise of Hippocrates observes, that *solum siccum cum aquis currentibus, salubritatem aeris efficiunt*. Cardani Opera, tom. viii. p. 14. col. 1. which though not of all, is undoubtedly true of the best part of Great Britain.

to their utility, we shall receive the benefit of such discovery, as well as the inhabitants of the country wherein it is made (*d*). It has been also rendered sufficiently evident, that we have not the least reason to envy any region in the known world as to salt springs, since of these we have great plenty, many of them rich in their contents; and yet there are very good grounds to believe that they will prove inexhaustible (*e*). A few of these are regarded abroad as a staple in themselves, and sources of wealth to a large district; with us they are not confined to a single county; and there are strong reasons to presume that more of them might be found, if there was an extraordinary demand for this kind of salt; which, however, considering the quantities of other sorts that are made in different places, is not very speedily to be expected. Mineral springs of almost all kinds we have in great abundance; and it hath been endeavoured to do particular justice to these, so far as they came within the design of this work; and we have likewise ventured to give some hints for their improvement, or rather increasing the advantages that are derived from them (*f*). In like manner, we have enumerated the most considerable of the British baths; and have shewn that in point of efficacy, as well as elegance, they render it utterly unnecessary for such as stand in need of relief from these healing waters, to go and seek it, either amongst the numerous Baths in Italy, or of Aix in Provence, or of Aix-la-Chapelle in Westphalia, or of any of the three Bourbons in Burgundy, Champagne, or the Bourbonnois, or of Plömbiers in Lorraine, or of Balaruc in Languedoc, or of Baden in Switzerland, or Baden in Lower Austria, Toepnitz or Carlsbad in Bohemia; or even the baths of Buda in Hungary, supposed by very good judges to be equal at least, if not superior to any of them (*g*). It may be, that in this single instance

(*d*) In respect to such fountains, the inquiries hitherto made have tended only, and that with no great success, to discover the causes of those circumstances by which they are rendered objects of wonder, without ever trying whether their waters might not answer some particular purpose better than any other; and this is so true, that the salutary qualities of some of our most valuable medicinal springs were made known to us by birds or beasts.—(*e*) The Brine Springs have been wrought for many ages, they have been known for about a century past to derive their contents from immense rocks of fossil salt, whence all apprehensions of their decaying are removed. Many considerable improvements have been made within these few years, by which the expence of labour and of fuel are diminished, and the quantity and the value of the salt are increased.—(*f*) It would be a singular improvement, and at the same time a leading experiment, if the waste water of any of these springs could be applied to any mechanic uses, such as bleaching, scouring, tanning, dying, or brewing. We know that Stroud Water in Gloucestershire and a well near Northampton, when madder was used, were famous for dying scarlets, as the river Winrush is for whitening blankets at Witney in Oxfordshire. It would be useful to determine by experiment, whether there be any, and what degree of truth in such kind of reports; and in case there should be any, to make the strictest analysis possible of the waters.—(*g*) We are certainly in want of a complete history of warm baths, founded solely on facts deduced from experiments; and if some generous prince would send one or more Physicians

instance our insular situation may be against us ; for otherwise, no doubt, Bath and Buxton would be as much frequented by foreigners as any of those that have been mentioned. The pools, lakes, and loughs, have been particularly examined, and shewn to be in many respects of great utility, capable of being made much more so, and scarce any where attended with those noxious consequences, which render them so dangerous, as well as disagreeable in other countries (*h*). It is by no means improbable, that this chapter, notwithstanding the variety of subjects of which it treats, may to some appear very long ; but those who are attentive to the plan on which it is written, will be convinced that it could not be made shorter ; and those who have a due regard for the solid and permanent interests of the British isles, will contemplate with pleasure even this very extensive catalogue of blessings, which Providence hath very kindly bestowed upon their country. Add to this, that we have occasionally shewn, that by proper attention and application, even these blessings, numerous and extensive as they are, may be rendered incomparably more beneficial (*i*).

FROM the consideration of those conveniencies and emoluments which arise from the amazing abundance, and the happy distribution, of water in general, we proceed to those that we derive from navigable rivers. These, like many others of the gifts of Providence, are progressive in their growth, and are gradually productive of very different benefits. At their very first appearance, they are sources of pleasure and fertility. As they swell in their journey, they become still more advantageous, and besides the former, answer a variety of other purposes, such as driving mills, or giving motion to other machines. In proportion as they gain a fresh accession of strength, they become more and more useful, by contributing to inland navigation ; and pursuing their majestic course, create, by the numerous conveniencies they afford, boroughs, towns, and cities that adorn their banks. At length they roll their tribu-

to examine the most eminent in Europe ; in this view, their reports would undoubtedly add to the common stock of useful science, and contribute highly to the good of mankind. Such a history would be serviceable also in respect to our own.—(*h*) In the East Indies, and in other hot countries, they make small lakes for the sake of preserving water. In Egypt, with great labour, and at vast expence, to prevent inundations. In China, for the sake of the fish and fowl which they maintain. It is always proper therefore, before draining, to state a fair account between the conveniencies that are or may be obtained from them, and the advantages that will certainly arise from taking them away.—(*i*) Any new discovery, with respect to the general uses of water as a fluid, or of the peculiar properties of any kind of water, would be undoubtedly serviceable in a country like this, where there is not only a great plenty of water almost every where, but almost of every sort of water, which rendered the general history of its disposition so necessary.

tary waters into the sea, and at their mouths constitute havens of different capacities (*k*). We have carefully enumerated at least the principal of these, which sufficiently proves, that we enjoy no small number of these valuable streams, which are however by no means to be considered as inseparably connected with an insular situation (*l*). We have done yet more, for we have rendered it indisputably clear, that our isles are in this respect blessed in as high a degree as any, and in a much higher degree than most other countries (*m*); and for this reason, we stile this important advantage, as we did the former, a peculiar prerogative of Great Britain. In the execution of this task, we have been very attentive to point out the peculiar advantages derived from the course of each of these rivers, interspersing occasionally historical remarks on several of the places, that by lying upon are rendered of importance by them; and have consequently been led to shew how much several of them have been improved within the course more especially of the two last centuries (*n*). We have nevertheless remarked, that not a few of these are still very capable of receiving farther improvements; and that there want not others, which, with a reasonable degree of skill, application, and expence, may be certainly rendered navigable, though at present they are not so (*o*). By this means there is no doubt that farther emoluments would accrue, at the same time that it evidently appears there is not the least reason to surmise, that either our ancestors or ourselves have carried this very important point as far as it is possible; but that, on the contrary, much, very much, is left to exercise the sagacity, atten-

(*k*) The reader may, if he pleases, see all these observations exactly verified, by tracing the course of the river Medway, and comparing it with the description in p. 154, 155. of this volume; and surely there can be nothing more satisfactory than the contemplation of the wise œconomy of Nature, joined to the reflection that all the benefits arising from thence accrue to Britain.—(*l*) We have given proofs of this, by producing instances of islands very defective in this point. But then it is to be remembered, that the defect no more arises from their being islands, than the abundance. The truth is, they spring from the primary construction of the country, and are bestowed or withheld at the will of the Creator. In this point of view, the construction both of Britain and Ireland is wonderfully commodious.—(*m*) It has been computed, that in the old world, that is Europe, Asia, and Africa, there are about four hundred and thirty rivers, and in the new, that is America, one hundred and eighty, that discharge themselves into the sea. This may enable one to form in some measure an idea of the extent of this advantage.—(*n*) We run no hazard of being suspected of flattering the present times, in affirming that we have much better notions at present of the importance of navigable rivers, and of the means of improving, or even of rendering them so, than prevailed in the days of our ancestors. Of this the most convincing proofs may be had from the statutes made for facilitating such undertakings, most of which have been attended with great success.—(*o*) The principal impediments to such designs are usually, 1. The difficulty of making future advantages so clear as to procure present disbursements; 2. The combining men of different tempers and interests in a scheme for common advantage; and 3. The largeness of the expence, which can seldom be ascertained by any previous calculation. It is evident that the most effectual means to vanquish these, is to seize some favourable conjuncture.

tion, and industry of posterity (*p*). A prospect this! most singularly pleasing to those who wish and hope the perpetual prosperity of the British empire, to which nothing can more clearly, more certainly, or more considerably contribute.

THE numerous and very important consequences that attend the very large extent, and the singularly beneficial form of our coasts, are the subjects treated in the succeeding chapter. In order to render this perfectly intelligible, we have been very careful to explain wherein this prerogative consists, which no way depends upon our being an island, as there are many of our own, which have but few, and some not above one port; so that our happiness in this respect springs solely and entirely from the beneficent bounty of the supreme being, towards whom our gratitude is best expressed, by improving so rare and so important a blessing to the utmost (*q*). To give some idea of which, by shewing what has been already done, we have pursued the same method as in the former chapter, making the compleat tour of the British islands, and mentioning their most remarkable ports as they occur (*r*). By this method the reader sees clearly the truth of this position, and from the light of evidence discerns what innumerable advantages we derive from thence. But that so long a peregrination, instead of proving tedious, might be made as entertaining and instructive as possible, we have taken at the same time a survey of the Maritime counties, and in doing this, have ventured to give a succinct detail of their principal produce, as well as a description of their situation, and the benefits that either are or may be derived from both (*s*). In this survey, abundance of points in natural,

(*p*) In order to see this in a light of probability, we must consider how things actually stood a century or two ago, look back on the proposals then made for improvements, observe how slightly they were received, how little they were known how long they slept in obscurity, by what accidents awakened and brought to view, with what difficulty carried into execution; and these circumstances generally unattended to, their real authors and true sources buried in oblivion.—(*q*) This is evidently the best return that rational beings can make to an omniscient creator. Blessings unemployed are consequently unfelt, and they will always remain unemployed so long as they are not understood. But when from the spur of necessity, which works quickest or from due observation, which proceeds best, men apply themselves to make a proper use of natural advantages, they find them extend under their care, and exceed their expectations in their effects.—(*r*) It appears from the history of these ports seated immediately on the sea coast, that by attracting inhabitants, and thereby increasing consumption, they produce a cultivated country round them; as their influence extends, more distant places procure good roads to participate in these advantages; and in a necessary chain of consequences, link being added to link, this influence comes to be felt at fifty or an hundred, which at first scarce reached five miles.—(*s*) We have been thereby enabled to shew, how freedom and a mild government, encouraging industry, and protecting property, supply all the supposed defects of soil and climate; so that in point of fertility and abundance,
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natural, civil, and commercial history are interspersed; which however, are strictly relative to our original plan of pointing out as we proceed, what hath been or what may be done towards rendering the country more flourishing, and placing the inhabitants thereby more at their ease. If introduced to any other, or insisted on any farther than to this purpose, they must necessarily have diverted our attention from the principal design of this work; and however pleasing, laudable, or useful they might be in themselves, would have been thereby very improper; whereas thus applied, they have, it is hoped, thrown a clearer and more agreeable light on many things than could have been obtained any other way (*t*). The bringing back to remembrance what was done here in very early days, when supported by authentic evidence, is not barely doing justice to antiquity, but furnishes also, in some cases, a kind of proof not otherwise to be had, and in its own nature conclusive (*u*). The memorials even of the middle ages are not unworthy of our regard; for though after the Danish devastations and the Norman conquest, a strong tincture of barbarism prevailed amongst our ancestors, yet some things that they either retained from former times, or brought over hither from other countries, proving useful and advantageous, deserve therefore to be remembered (*w*). In respect to the numerous modern improvements that occur, they not only shew the happy effects that have followed from the increase of useful science, but serve also to excite in us a desire of making still greater improvements; for which there yet remains sufficient room, and in some places pregnant occasion, as there will be undoubtedly in others in proportion as a spirit of commerce, which in an island can

the produce of commodities and manufactures for our own use, and the consumption of others, we are much superior to our ancestors, inferior to no other nation, and have still numerous resources, to which either ourselves or our posterity may recur.—(*t*) In this we have followed the learned Camden, the judicious Selden, the accurate Spelman; and indeed all the celebrated writers who have treated subjects of this nature, and upon their principle, that by this means the descriptions might be rendered more useful, by being better understood. Strabo in truth set the example, who is indisputably one of the most entertaining and elegant, as well as one of the most accurate of ancient Geographers.—(*u*) It could never have been proved that corn, cattle, hares, geese, and poultry were in plenty here 1800 years ago, if Cæsar had not expressly told us so. Diodorus Siculus asserts Britain was very populous. Vines were planted here, by permission for that purpose from the Emperor Probus. Tacitus acquaints us, that the Romans employed the natives in draining Morasses; the coins found near Fleet in Holland in Lincolnshire, prove this was recovered by them.—(*w*) The woollen manufacture is allowed to have been brought in by our Norman Kings; and so it really was, and much earlier than is commonly supposed, as has been mentioned, p. 179. They were very solicitous in promoting the cultivation of hemp about Bridport; encouraged the plantation of timber; were attentive to the breeding of horses; remitted part of their fees to decaying towns, and shewed much attention to the sea coasts and ports of the kingdom.

alone either excite or support a spirit of industry, universally prevails, and comes in different degrees to animate the whole nation (x).

BUT besides these, there is yet another very distinguishing prerogative, which may be truly said to give value to the rest ; and which not having been hitherto explicitly treated in this work, it is requisite to speak more largely to it here (y). It is that very wise and happy mixture which Providence hath made of Midland and Maritime countries in both islands, by which they mutually supply and support each other, and render both of far greater importance than otherwise they would be (z). This singular and superlative advantage, though evidently connected with, does by no means depend absolutely upon size. There are some, though but few larger islands than Britain, which want this as well as other conveniencies which we possess (a). In those large islands the interior country swells into mountains of stupendous height, dreary and uninhabitable by men, and the refuge only of wild beasts. From these many torrents rushing down, besides frequent and destructive inundations, render the lower countries at all times equally unwholesome and unpleasant. Some islands are flat and marshy within land, and from the incommodities necessarily resulting thence, are unimproveable, unhealthy, and of course thinly peopled. There are others again in the same situation from the very

(x) Liverpool came to be considered in consequence of the Irish, Harwich of the Dutch, Portsmouth of our French wars ; Whitby rose to be a port after the reformation ; Whitehaven almost in our own times, by the attention of the Lowther family ; Sandwich as the remnant of the old Rutupium, London, Yarmouth, Newcastle, and Southampton, are coeval with our commerce. The latter ports excited it, and in conjunction with a few others sufficed for ages. The former arose from different occasions, have wonderfully extended it, and no doubt future occasions, some of which may, and others cannot be foreseen, will still further enlarge the number.—(y) It may be very properly asked, Why was it not insisted upon ? To this it is answered, 1. That the happy effects of this great national advantage are frequently mentioned in this, and will be more frequently mentioned in the next volume. 2. That the proper discussion of this subject would have required a great deal of room. 3. That the natural histories of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire by Plot ; of Northamptonshire by Morton ; of Lancashire by Leigh, &c. made it less necessary.—(z) The plenty of a valuable gross commodity in the hands of a few opulent persons, awakens a desire of erecting a creek into a port, in which they find their account. But the port once made, with proper piers, quays, and magazines, the adjacent country feels the effects, inhabitants increase, they must be fed, agriculture thrives, rents rise, trade requires beasts and carriages, new roads are made, industry spreads, and with it affluence.—(a) The island of Borneo under the equinoctial is more than thrice as large as Great Britain. Madagascar, the largest of the African islands, is more than twice the size of Britain ; and the isle of Sumatra in the East Indies, on which we have a settlement, is near as large again. Japan is also reputed larger than Britain, but improperly ; for the empire of Japan is really composed of three islands, viz. Nippon, Kinsiu, and Sikokf, and these taken together are indeed superior in size to Britain and Ireland.

contrary

contrary cause, that is, from the want of water (*b*). But none of these capital evils, at least in any degree, affect either of our isles; so that we equally enjoy the benign blessings of a rich and fertile, as well as those copious benefits that arise from our being a maritime country. It is evident from hence, that we are much happier from our being divided as we are, than if there had been but one island, equal in extent to both (*c*). We should then have lost that great tract of coast, and all the numerous advantages, which, as we have shewn, arise from thence, and in its stead have possessed a far larger space of interior country, necessarily removed to a much greater distance from the sea, and in many other respects less improveable; whereas now all the coasts and ports of Ireland may be made as subservient to Britain as our own, together with all the emoluments that may be drawn from their different situation. For in respect to islands, size is to a certain degree, and to a certain degree only, beneficial, as is obvious in respect to Africa, as we have already observed and demonstrated in another point of view (*d*). It might be thought a degree of partiality mixed with presumption, if we should assert the size of Great Britain, to be the standard of insular perfection; it is fully sufficient for our purpose to maintain that its size is so well suited to all the purposes of agriculture and of commerce, that we cannot conceive how it could have been better (*e*).

It must be allowed, that with regard to inland provinces, South Britain enjoys an obvious and incontestible advantage; and there needs no argument to prove, that for the common be-

(*b*) If the reader consults Captain Daniel Beeckman's voyage to Borneo, London, 1715, 8vo, he will see, that it is such an island as is first described, and of course will not envy its inhabitants the honour of living in the largest island in the world. Dampier's voyages furnish variety of instances of isles of the second class, in which the mountains being near the sea coast, few of their rivers are navigable but by small vessels, and the inland country a mere quagmire.—(*c*) Several foreign writers have insisted expressly on the like division of the Empire of Japan, and have shewn the various benefits that arise from thence, more especially in respect to fertility, number of people, and the conveniency of water carriage. It is also very remarkable, that to justify this sentiment, and to make the point better understood, they compare these to the British isles, and assure us, that amongst the Japanese the phrase of the three Kingdoms is used to denote their dominions.—(*d*) Africa is disjoined from Europe by the Straights of Gibraltar; and if in like manner separated from Asia, by cutting through the Isthmus of Suez, it would be a complete island. It is about thrice the size of Europe, more than twice as big as North America, and more than eighty-five times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Yet through the great distance of the inland parts from the sea, and the want of fresh water, more barren and less peopled than any other part of the Globe.—(*e*) Whoever will seriously consider the several natural advantages pointed out in the course of this work, and at the same time reflects that all these advantages arise from the form, size, and situation of Great Britain, will not need many arguments to convince him that what is advanced in the text hath a foundation in truth, and is not asserted at random.

nefit of the British empire it should be so (*f*). The midland countries are wondertully fertile and pleasant, some of them distinguished by large downs covered by sheep; some spread out into wide lawns or spacious meadows, affording luxuriant pastures to numerous flocks, immense herds of black cattle, and multitudes of valuable horses; some again have wide-spread plains annually crowned with prodigious harvests of all kinds of grain, or with other products of equal, or even of greater value. Hills adorned with timber, and such an intermixture of forests, chaces, and parks, as renders it hard to decide whether they are most adapted to plenty or to pleasure; but undoubtedly well provided for both (*g*). True it is however, that in some places these delicious scenes are interrupted by less agreeable objects, which serve notwithstanding to diversify the view, and may, after exercising our industry, prove of as great utility as more promising countries (*h*). It is also truth, that many mountains are scattered here and there through South Britain, and more plentifully in Wales, besides that long chain, running from south to north, which Camden calls the English Appennine. But even the highest and the roughest of these yield the most valuable advantages; for to say nothing of their contributing to the purifying the air, and breaking the clouds, it is to these we owe that copious supply of rivers, which we have represented as so many sources of pleasure and of plenty; and to their position, the long current and gentle course of the most considerable of them. They are likewise pregnant with rich veins of almost all kinds of metals and minerals, and may thus be said to produce their harvests, not indeed on their bosoms, but from their bowels (*i*). On the other hand, many

(*f*) It is happy for the British empire, that the southern, best situated, and most fertile part of the island should be so much the largest as to contain about five parts in seven of the whole territory. It is therefore in this, as well as in other respects, the fittest to be the seat of government. By this means, improvements have been first made where they ought to be first made, that is in other countries where they would succeed best and yield most.—(*g*) If the reader will consult Drayton's Polyolbion, Camden, Speed, or any of our geographers, he will find what is said in the text to be strictly matters of fact, and that the midland countries, really transcend this description. Northamptonshire, than which there are not above ten smaller counties in England though it produces as much grain as any, and hath many manufactures, hath also three forests, two chases, and above twenty parks.—(*h*) Part of Flanders, between Dunkirk and Bruges, is visibly as fine and rich country in corn and pastures as can be wished. Between Ghent and Antwerp, for twenty miles together, the soil is poor barren sandy heath, in all appearance of no worth or value; yet by skill and industry this is rendered incomparably more valuable than the former, being brought by cultivation to produce flax (the great staple of that country) so fine as to be worth forty pounds an acre.—(*i*) Whatever furnishes employment to the people and emolument to the state, contributes equally to the public profit, through whatever medium it comes, be it coals or copper, or barley or wheat, wool or flax, or hops. Counties therefore rich in mines are highly valuable, however rugged their appearance. Nay, in spite of this, agriculture, grazing, and even manufactures will follow and flourish with them in places which they had never reached without them.

of these mountains make no such squalid figure; but on the contrary, rise to a majestic height, cloathed with noble woods, or covered with excellent grass, and with the wholesomest herbs. In the northern part of the isle, there is a smaller quantity of such inland country, but still much more than is commonly conceived; for the breadth, from east to west, is in some places very considerable, and both in the southern and in the northern parts a large quantity of land, that is, and a still larger quantity that might be, well cultivated. Indeed of late years, since a spirit of attention to domestic oeconomy arose, or rather revived, many improvements have been made, which very fully justify what had been long before suggested, that soil lying on rocks may by industry be rendered competently fruitful (*k*). The inland counties in Ireland are in general very fertile and pleasant as well as of great extent, much improved within the course of the present century, improving daily, and still incontestably capable of much higher improvements. All this has visibly arisen from the progress of commerce, the spirit of which hath already pervaded the inhabitants of a great part, and will gradually pervade the whole people of that fair and fruitful island (*l*).

SHORT as this description is, and in fact as it chiefly consists in simply recalling to memory things that cannot be controverted, there needed not a long one; it sufficiently shews how very happily the size and distribution of countries concur in both islands for the benefit of their inhabitants. These midland provinces furnish a copious subsistence, and thereby retain multitudes of people in the places where they were born, who finding from the large and regular demands of those in the maritime and commercial parts, a constant and satisfactory reward of industry, apply themselves vigorously not only to agriculture and grazing, but to a vast variety of other occupations, such as raising gross commodities for domestic and foreign markets, and establishing many manufactures which have increased, are still increasing, and will increase, as commerce con-

(*k*) In the philosophical transactions it was long ago remarked, with a view to the improvement of this country, that a rocky bottom, though but thinly covered with earth, instead of being detrimental, was favourable to vegetation, and this not from theory but experience. On this principle it is asserted that hops, flax, madder, liquorice, and saffron, all of them rich commodities, might be tried with just expectations of success, and some trials that have been made prove this doctrine true.—(*l*) It will be the characteristic of true patriots to conciliate the interests of both islands. Great Britain cannot distress Ireland but at her own expence; Ireland would hurt her own security by weakening Britain. Mistakes may happen on both sides the water. Wise men will mistake on neither. The growing prosperity of Ireland will be a pleasing object to every man who really wishes well to Britain.

tinues to flourish and to extend (*m*). Experience very fully justifies this manner of reasoning, or rather this method of reasoning is founded on, and deduced from experience; which clearly evinces the manifold advantages that are produced from this fortunate proportion of midland and maritime territory. Hence we see how indispensably, and therefore inseparably the landed and the trading interests are connected, and also why commerce is, what we have so often asserted it to be, essential to an island. We may farther learn, how since the power of Britain hath been extended by the means of her commerce and her colonies, to which that likewise gave birth, this distribution may be still so improved, as under the direction of our mild and excellent constitution, to furnish a competent strength to sustain this mighty empire thus acquired, in dignity undiminished and unfading in lustre (*n*). If in contemplating some of the larger counties on the sea coast, in South Britain more especially, we advert that part, and even a considerable part of them may be considered as inland, in respect to the rest, we may be induced to think it no extravagant calculation, that in the whole of the three kingdoms, there may be between forty and fifty millions of acres, that may be very justly looked upon in this light, which would commodiously hold, and very plentifully support, two millions of families (*o*); and whenever this shall happen, the maritime counties for many reasons, some of which have been already, and others which will be hereafter given, must of necessity be more populous by far than at present, and consequently that there will be near double the number of inhabitants in the two islands that are in them at this time. The possibility and practicability of this, is all that from these premises we mean to assert, and this can hardly with any shadow of argument be controverted, when it would be very easy to shew, that islands very short of these in many natural advantages are certainly more populous than either Great Bri-

(*m*) These can be promoted in no other way; and yet on the preserving and promoting these depends the welfare of this nation. It is not wealth flowing by secret and latent channels that enriches people, but substance fairly earned by labour and industry. The rain from heaven raises grass, corn, and fruits; periodical showers of gold would produce only a harvest of—idleness.—(*n*) This is so great, so glorious, so generous, but at the same time so arduous a task, as to demand all the skill and care, all the attention and assiduity of the ablest and most virtuous statesman. Such, for this country hath produced many such, may still be found; but they must not be disturbed or diverted from their endeavours in the public service; for such will not either head or contend with factions, who seek not their country's prosperity but their own.—(*o*) This certainly is no extravagant, much less absurd proposition, accounting only five persons to a house or family. For this allows twenty-five acres to each such family, and is about the number which has been computed in several of those which are not esteemed the most populous counties of England, as Bucks, Norfolk, and Somerset. In some others there are double that number to one house; in fact therefore, it is no more than suggesting that our inland territory may be brought to this standard. A thing which it is hoped this certain and familiar instance will put beyond doubt.

tain or Ireland, and even more populous than in that case they would be (*p*). To this we may add, that some countries there are upon the continent, which, in virtue of a few of the benefits we enjoy, and by a proper and sedulous application of these, are in a like condition (*q*); so that these are to be regarded as political probabilities, founded in reason, justified by experience, and so fully supported by facts, that we hope they will not be in danger of passing for commercial chimeras.

It is not however unlikely, that the possibility of the thing may be admitted by many, who nevertheless are persuaded that such an augmentation of inhabitants never can take place, and candour will oblige us to own, they have many strong arguments in their favour, which from the lights both of reason and experience are not very easy to be answered (*r*). Such persons may, and there is no doubt will say, that the manners of men in general, their employments, more especially in manufactures, the propensity of living in great towns, and cities, tends rather to diminish than to increase our people; that numbers are constantly consumed in the sea service, that our foreign garrisons have the same effect, that our colonies are a continual and a considerable drain; and that our wars, whenever they happen, sweep away great numbers. In most of these cases they will urge, that we not only lose so many individuals, but which is of still higher consequence, we also lose their posterity. They will alledge still farther, that these not only operate as causes of evil, but which is yet worse, have a certain and visible tendency to prevent the application of remedies (*s*).

In

(*p*) According to the best accounts which the Dutch have given us of Java, it is considerably larger than it is commonly believed to be, yet less than Great Britain. It is said however by them, from computations very carefully made, that it contains thirty-two millions of inhabitants; therefore they conclude justly, if their calculation be right, that it is the best peopled island in the world. This is in Asia, and comes home to the point; and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat the names of islands in all parts of the globe, which, their size considered, are certainly more populous than this island; though, on the strictest comparison, it will not be found they have any advantages over us in any other respect whatever.—(*q*) If we take the most moderate estimate of the people in the province of Holland, they are six times, and the whole United Provinces are three times as populous as England; and of course this is sufficient to prove what is said in the text. We see therefore there is no impossibility in supposing our three kingdoms may well subsist double the number of people now in them. This is naturally the first and not the least material step towards accomplishing it.—(*r*) In former times, when plausibilities passed for arguments, and authorities were sufficient to establish facts, any thing of this sort might have been in some degree refuted, or at least might have been rendered doubtful. But the present age is by far too enlightened, and these kind of questions have been too much ventilated to admit of any sort of imposition, how artfully soever stated. Our business is to discover, not to disguise truth, and upon this we stake our credit with the reader.—(*s*) The most knowing and cautious of our political writers seem to allow, that we have not data sufficient to determine with any degree of certainty as to the number of people in these islands. But by a strict
comparison

In some cases the interest of our commerce stands in the way, in others, the honour of the nation; since, when necessary, wars must be undertaken, and when undertaken they must be supported; in all cases they may alledge, that the temper of the times, or rather the bent of the people, unaccustomed to, and therefore by no means inclined to submit to severe laws (*t*), even though visibly conducive to public good, would hinder regulations requisite for this purpose; and in defence of this doctrine, they will not fail to mention the repeated dislike that has been shewn to a general naturalization; though that has been esteemed by some very eminent statesmen, the shortest, speediest, and most promising scheme for producing such an effect. Yet if, after all, the thing be possible in its nature, and it is at the same time of the highest importance to the welfare and stability, as well as to the grandeur and glory of this country, that it should be accomplished, we ought not to be deterred or driven to despair by the consideration of difficulties, how great soever they may appear (*u*). The genius of the British nation hath particularly shone in overcoming obstacles to the point she had in view, which by any other people would have been believed, and perhaps found insurmountable, and therefore any attempt to indicate a method of doing this, will certainly deserve notice, and very probably meet with favour.

It was with this view, that the subject of the last chapter is therein so fully and circumstantially stated, as affording a very promising method of attaining or helping to attain this end, without innovating in any way on the manners of the people in the mother country. In that we have shewn, that there are numerous islands dependant on Great Britain, and many of these little attended to, and consequently neglected and unimproved. That all of these notwithstanding are very capable of being brought into a tolerable state of cultivation, with

comparison of facts, it passes for probable, that we have not more, or at least not many more than we had at the close of the last century; for which the reasons stated in the text, may account with tolerable certainty; but their future operations can be foreseen with no such certainty.—(*t*) The mild and gentle laws of Britain have been attended with such numerous advantages, and have thereby so endeared their authority to the people, that it is no wonder they have established their character, and fixed in their breasts a zealous attachment to those institutions which have been pregnant to them with so many and so great blessings. This therefore ought to be considered not as national weakness, but as national virtue, and public spirit. Laws proper to render a nation numerous, ought to make a part of their original constitution, and can scarce be afterwards introduced. But the same end may possibly be reached some other way.—(*u*) When difficulties occur in respect to what are truly national objects, the first point is to represent those objects in a true light, that their nature may be clearly discerned, and their importance generally understood. This will produce an unanimity of sentiment, capable of inspiring a vigour not to be opposed, and a steadiness not to be overcome. In such a state, fair words, just precepts, and good examples will do more, or rather will excite a free people to do more, than any coercive laws would ever effect.

some small attention and expence; the truth of this it is hoped has been proved by almost every argument of which the subject is susceptible (w). That these improvements would necessarily, and in a manner immediately become highly beneficial to Britain. That in some proportion as these improvements increase, they must grow more and more beneficial to this country; their connection with which could never be in danger of being interrupted or weakened, much less of being broken or dissolved; and that this is no temporary, incertain, or trivial, but a most serious and important object, pregnant with every national advantage, that can be wished to such a commercial state as this. It may with like propriety be considered as adding without the trouble of discovery, without the difficulties attending conquest, and, comparatively speaking, without expence, a very large and commodious province; I had almost said a fourth Kingdom to the British Empire; which in reference to extent, as well as situation, and all the conveniencies resulting from thence render it considered in this light highly valuable in many different respects, and more especially in regard to this; for which when duly attended to, these islands seem by the wisdom of Providence to be most happily as well as peculiarly adapted.

FOR with regard to this great point of increasing the number of people, a thing so necessary to the welfare, power, and grandeur of this state, their improvement will probably be attended with these effects. As soon as the public takes notice of them, so as to establish a constant and regular correspondence with these countries, there will be instantly an addition of so many thousand active and industrious subjects to this Empire as these islands contain; and who for ages past have contributed very little to the common benefit of the society. The fixing a proper basis, and giving stability to their improvements, will retain thousands of young people who annually go to foreign countries, and very seldom return, by finding proper employment for them, where, for the public benefit they ought to be, in their own. By this means, and that too in a very short space of time, the whole and even the most remote of them, will become fully inhabited. This will also be very much facilitated by the resort of foreign protestants, who might be in-

(w) If a man had studied his own case, or been intent on entertaining and amusing his readers, he would never have dragged them to the Western Islands, to the Orkneys, and to Shetland; countries known barely by name, and scarcely that to southern politicians. But one who wishes to see the British empire the most extensive and the most stable on earth, believed it to be his duty. He thought the time was come, when to preserve and to protect our distant dominions, it would be requisite to collect, and by every possible method to augment our strength at home. He saw that great countries lay in a manner desert at our own doors, that thousands and thousands of people (in respect to the public) were absolutely idle. He knew the former might be cultivated, and the latter employed. He discerned the consequences that would attend this; and he conceived that a distinct detail of what he thought would some time or other (as has been the case in other improvements) produce this likewise.

vited without any inconveniency thither, would readily come, and bringing the means of subsistence, that is skill and labour in useful employments, would be very kindly received (*x*). The furnishing these isles, when tolerably settled, and moderately well inhabited, with many necessaries and domestic furniture, the utensils requisite for their trades, and commodities, and manufactures, to complete the assortment of their cargoes in commerce, for which they are well situated, and to which, if they had the means, they are naturally inclined, will procure employment and subsistence for many families in Britain and Ireland, as certainly as the like effects have followed from the establishment of more distant colonies. Besides, as in time of war, our fleet may be manned from these islands without prejudice to our trade; which in that season has suffered through the necessity we have hitherto been under of sending and paying (to say nothing of disciplining) foreign seamen, it must prove a great saving of men here. When they shall come to be fully peopled and completely improved, the wealthiest and most substantial inhabitants, will continually follow the fortunes they have acquired hither; and thus there will be a constant influx of people, according to their various connexions, into some part or other of Great Britain and Ireland. By this means which is all we intend to suggest, an augmentation equal to the unavoidable outlets of people from hence would speedily arise, and of course, the natural multiplication of the present inhabitants of these two islands be no longer impeded (*y*).

WE shall proceed, after laying the best foundation we are able of judging of the comparative values of countries in general, to give in the succeeding books, a compendious inventory of the national produce of Great Britain; from whence it will incontestably appear, that in all ages these islands possessed very extensive funds both of valuable commodities for commerce, and for the employment of her natives in every species of industry; which, though many of them might be neglected, and others

(*x*) The methods recommended for speedily peopling these isles, would be very acceptable to their inhabitants. Gavelkind (that great source of population) was their ancient constitution. They are naturally hospitable, and well-disposed to strangers, very inquisitive, and much inclined to learn new trades. To which we may add, they would most willingly accept new privileges, on condition of furnishing regular supplies of seamen in time of war, for the service of the navy.—(*y*) In order to make this matter perfectly intelligible to the attentive and candid reader, let it be observed, that Guernsey and Jersey are four times more populous than Britain and Ireland; and consequently no improbability in supposing that these may commodiously maintain twice the present number of inhabitants. In comparison of Guernsey and Jersey, Wight and Anglesey are thinly, and all the other isles very thinly peopled, for which we have assigned the reasons, and endeavoured to point out the remedies. The only objection that can be formed against this method of arguing is, that, their soil and situation considered, the scheme of rendering them populous is improbable, if not impossible. But this we have overthrown, by proving they were once as populous as we would wish them.

for a long space totally overlooked, or the profits arising from them suffered to pass into the hands of foreigners, yet through the course of several centuries past have been improved by ourselves to the almost inexpressible benefit of this country (z). We shall likewise shew that in proportion as useful science increased, and our political constitution improved, these funds of every kind were gradually enlarged and much more improved, by which the nation grew capable of extending her views, and of thereby ascending much higher in the scale of power, with respect to the other states of Europe than in former times. It is true that in the prosecution of these enlarged views we were carried into immense expences; but as we shall also prove, not beyond, or even to the extent of our abilities, or without making acquisitions suitable to those expences, large as they were. We shall finally attempt a succinct representation of the distant dominions of Britain, and enquire into the advantages she hath already reaped, and those that she may hereafter acquire from them; and how far this may conduce to augment her wealth and force so as to enable her to preserve, and to sustain so vast an empire with dignity and lustre, so long as our mild and happy constitution retains its vigour and this nation its freedom.

(z) In speaking of our trade being formerly in the hands of foreigners, we mean only to state a fact, and not to cast any reflection. For without doubt we stand indebted for many of our manufactures, and no small part of our commerce to foreigners settled amongst us. But these foreigners came and went, and in virtue of privileges obtained from our princes, established monopolies, and, having raised great fortunes here, carried them over and lived upon them in their own countries.



END of the SECOND VOLUME.

